HERITAGE OF KASHMIR

BY

F. M. Hussnain



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Edited by

F.M. HASSNAIN

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The collection of ... volume, is a part of th ... ma ... from time to time. It is pla ned ... al and papers received by the Cour ... publi-cations. The Council has ... phased programme of publication w ... ation of the reports and papers prepa ... e p ... jects initiated by the Council and the researchers a ... nvestigations conducted by the members of the Council and scholars associated with the Council, the publication of a quarterly journal of research and the preparation of monographs and books on various aspects of cultural and scientific research.

Kashmir Council of Research

SRINAGAR – KASHMIR INDIA

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PREFACE

The Kashmir Council of Research was founded in 1975 at Srinagar. It aims at encouraging, promoting and fostering research in arts, humanities and field sciences. The council serves as a forum for discussion on various subjects of research, so as to give, proper direction for objective study and presentation of facts. It is an academic body devoted to research and enquiry in different fields. In accordance with its objectivesy the Council organises seminars on various topics. The Council, seeks to achieve the following objectives :

(a) to promote and foster researches in the art, histor and culture of the people ;

(b) to organise meetings, conferences, seminars and sym posia, and

(c) to establish and maintain liason with national and inter-national research organisations.

The structural organisation of the Council is solely determined by the General Body of the members of the Council. The Executive Committee, which is constituted of the President of the Council, the Vice President, the Secretary, the Joint Secretary, Treasurer and seven other members, is elected directly by the members of the Council for a period of three years. Other subsidiary bodies and instrumentalities are constituted by the members in the General Body or by the President, where-ever he is vested with the power to do so in accordance with the rules of procedure laid down by the Constitution of the Council. The membership of the Council is open to all men of letters and scholars who contribute to the aims and objectives of the Council. The Council has reserved to itself the right and power to award fellowship to scholars who have done meritorious work in the field of research.

It may be pointed out that the Kashmir Council of Research is a non-political, non-partisan and non-governmental organisation.

A significant motivation which underlines the function of the Council is the necessity to organise and institutionalise research and investigation in the art, culture and history of the people of Jammu and Kashmr State and the people inhabiting the adjoining parts of the country where very meagre work has so far been undertaken. It is genuinely felt that vast areas in culture and history of the people of Jammu and Kashmir are still undiscovered and deserve keener attention of scholars and researchers than they have so far received. An integrated effort in this direction is not only expected to yield valuable data and information about the culture and history of the people but also prepare a sound basis for the understanding of the dynamics of their social frames as they obtain at present.

In accordance with its objective. the Council organised a a seminar on "Cultural Heritage of Kashmir", at S. P. College Srinagar, on the 25th, 26th and 27th of October, 1976. Several papers on various aspects of our history and culture were presented and discussed. Some valuable papers were received later on, when it was decided to compile and edit these into one volume. The Council has already published Vol. I, II and III of the Studies of the Kashmir Council of Research. It is now proposed to publish the papers presented at the seminar and the papers received by the Editorial Board from time to time.

Papers of the following scholars have been included in the present volume :

1. Pandit J.L.K. Jalali.
2. Prof. Dr. T.N. Ganjoo
3. Prof. Dr. Token D. Sumi.
4. Dr. S.G. Nabi
5. Prof. Mohi-ud-din.
6. Mohamad Amin Pandit.
7. Frof. Dr. Madhvi Yasin.
8. Prof, K N. Dhar.
9. Prof. Dr. Ghulam Hassan Khan.
10. Prof. Miss Tasneem Bakhshi.

11. Prof. Dr. R.K.Koul Bhat.
12. S.S. Gergan.
13. Rachoo Isfindyar Khan.
14. Prof Abdul Hamid Malik.
15. Alhaj Mirza G.H. Beg Arif.
16. Dr. Halim-un-Nisa.
17. Dr. A.A. Shaw.

The last paper included in this volume is by the Editor.

The papers, selected for the persent volume are original studies both in their orientation and interpretation. It is hoped that the volume will provide the researcher as well as the scholar fresh lines of approach and also provide him with considerably rich and helpful references for further research and investigation. If that objective is achieved the purpose of the purpose of the publication will be deemed to have been fulfilled.

F.M. Hassnain

Srinagar, Kashmir

May, 1980

CHAPTER 1

Kashmir, Its People and their Language

Pandit J.L.K. Jalali

According to the OLD TESTAMENT the world was created only four thousand years before Christ. Naturally the Christian Rulers of India and their representatives, religious, cultural, literary and political ascribed any date within that outer limit to whatever they came across in the shape of archeological finds, old documents, architecture and the like, and so have our hoary scriptures Vedas and Upanishads, Puranas and Itihasas been dated notwithstanding other confirmed evidence to the contrary, though now the Mohenjo-Daro has upset all their calculations and interpretations. So has happened with our Nilamatpurana, which has been credited with the date of 700 A D. by Dr. Buhler, regardless of the fact that the seventh century in Kashmir could not be an age when Puranas could be composed in view of the inroads of Buddhism and the prevalence of other cults, and the internal evidence based on the events and happenings, tradition and the over-all cast of the story related in the Purana. Even as it is the Purana cannot but be considered to have been written not later than 4th century B C., even though my personal conviction is that it is of a much earlier date, and that the inclusion of Buddha Jayanti (Buddha Purnima of Vaisakha) is later interpolotion to conform to the general trend in Bharat about the Buddha as an **avatara**. This is corroborated by the fact that the rituals and customs mentioned in the Purana pertained to a period when they were observed by the people of Kashmir and most of them had not fallen into disuse.

Thousands upon thousands of years ago the VALLEY OF Kashmir was an inland sea, which the Vedic Rishis (or Vedic Aryans) after they were imported into the country, called

Satisaras or the Lake of Sati (goddess Uma the Holy Consort of Lord Shiva). On the shores of this big lake, on the slopes of the mountains bordering it, on the land free from water, there lived a race of men historically known as Nagas who spread out right from Nilakunda (Vernag) to down below what is now called Baramulla. Naga is a word of Naga origin which was adopted by the Vedic Aryans or Saraswats when at the express bidding of his revered father, Maharshi Kashyapa, the chief of the Nagas, Nila, had invited him in fighting out the Pishachas-a contemptous name given by these Aryans to the non-Naga outsiders who had occupied a portion of the desiccated Valley towards the lower reaches. The term Pishacha is even now used by the Kashmiris in labelling or addressing a low, mean and worthless fellow. The Pishachas were in fact people who had crossed over the mountains in the north from Dardistan and until they were ousted or annihilated in the Naga-Pishacha dynastic war, had virtually established themselves as rivals to the Nagas.

The Nilamat-purana records that at the request of his son Nila the Sage Kashyapa after his pilgrimage to the shrines and **tirthas** of Bharata agreed to have the Big Lake desiccated, and tirthas mythcologically speaking, he observed penance for a hundred years until the (goddess) Uma was pleased and agreeable to the draining out of the waters of the lake on which she used to have outings with Lord Shiva, and accordingly the Trinity, Shiva, Vishnu and Brahma were instrumental in this great undertaking so much so that they themselves took their seats on the three high peaks to facilitate the task-which in the main was that of destroying the anti-naga clan of Jalodbhava. The Purana is responsible for the story that Jalodbhava was born of the demon Sangraha's siemen devoured by the big fish in the Satisar and was nurtured by the Naga themselves. In course of time he established a clan of his on the island or islands within the lake which grew into powerful rival to the Nagas. These Jalodbhavas had a very limited space to live in which could hardly supply-them with essential commodities and necessaries of life, and so resorted to fending food for themselves, which the Nagas interpreted as depredations made in the surrounding regions of

Jullundhara, etc. And as the scriptural story would hava it, the goddess Uma assumed the form of a Shari (magpie or ha'ri as we Kashmiris call it), and dropped it on the head of the Jalodbhava ancestor and killed him. This pebble rose into a hill called Chareshwar on which the image of Sharika Bhagvati stands. Sharika is thus the form of goddess Uma and not of Durga as wrongly supposed by some scholars, nor even of Lakshmi. It is further stated that when the pebble crushed the Jalodbhava demon a shrill. cry emitting from his throat was responsible for 'creating' the watery stretch of Bahirav (present Bahrar to the east of the Chakreshwar hill) and other small lakes of Anchar and Dal were also brought into existence with the small islets now known as Sona Lank and Ropa Lank (the islands of gold and silver).

Whatever, the theory, when the inland sea began to be desiccated-after the geologists and engineers of Bharat had marked out a spot on the soft gravel slope of the mountain at a place known as Khadniyar below Baramulla and dug out a channel, and the water started flowing out-the very first appearances of land towards the upper reaches sent a thrill of joy among the Naga inhabitants and they celebrated it with songs, dances, feasts, which ultimately gave shape to the several weeks long celebration of the occasion as "Herat", commencing from the first day of the dark fortnight of Phalguna (February) and lasting upto Shukla **Dashmi** (the tenth day of the bright fortnight of Phalguna), which in course of time commemorated the wedding function of Bhagvati Uma with Bhagvan Shiva ; and the 13th dark day of Phalguna is called **Heratsa Truvah**, a day which is the greatest festival among the Saraswat-Kashmiris even today. It is not the Shiva-ratri of the Hindus of the rest of India which falls on the following day, the Krishna Chaturdashi and is called **Heratsa tsodah**. It is incorrect to say or think that Shivaratri and Herat are one and the same function. On Herat the Nagas, and now we Saraswats, use mutton, fish, meat of forest fowls, and even liquor, and offer to Bhairavas-at the Herat Puja on 13th—oblation of rice, wheaten or rice-flour bread, meat, fish (intestines, blood and the like are also offered by some), and to Lord Shiva and Uma, milk, sugar and other

charu is offered. All these are put in the earthen vessels called Dulloos, the Dulloo without a rim is known as Reshi-dul, in which milk etc. is for Bhagwan Shiva and Bhagvati Uma, the rimmed-dulloos, which may number as many as eleven are treated as receptacles of meat and fish oblation for Bhairavas. And all this has come down to us intact, though with the passage of centuries and due to the circumstantial and economic changes, some sort of abbreviation has crept in, but the essence is there and continues untarnished.

It will be interesting to note that the Herat begins with the first day of Phalguna (according to lunar month) and it is called Huri-ogdoh (the first day or pratipada of leeping or cleansing the house) : the second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eigth are all days of dusting, sweeping, cleansing the premises, and each family has a given day on which to start this cleansing, which may last for two or three days or even more. The first, fourth and eigth day are treated as special days and the last, huri-a' tham, (Ashtami of cleansing) is generally observed as a day of merriment, songs, music and bhajans and puja. The ninth, tenth are days when daughters-in-law who go to their parents' house for a wash and bath, return to their (husband's) parents-in-law house with **Shagoon** or **dyar** the money given as **Atagat** by the parents to their girl on the occasion. Eleventh is generally called **gadakah** (the ekadashi of fish) and Nilamat-purana mentions it cleary. The twelfth day is called Waguribah. Wagur is a sort of small bowl or plate and is a Naga word which has come down to us along with **Sani-potul**, a baked clay image of **lingam** which is a *sine quenon* for puja on the Herat, for it is this very image or idol that must be worshipped and all **puja** offered to it, though in some houses the Panchayatna or **Thakur** is also worshipped. The Herat-Puja in fact starts on the eleventh tithi (day) of dark Phalguna, and lasts upto fifteenth or Amavasya. Some houses observe five days of Puja, some lesser number of days. But after the Puja days there is another observance of ritual of Walnuts

It has to be known that the Watuka, which is worshipped on Herat days consists of some vessels, and at least two baked

clay pots, and other flat plates (called tok). The pots are filled with walnuts, and water of those pots is changed every morning for the days of puja, as also for the days until the walnuts are taken out of them and broken and with wheaten bread an offering is made of them. and the Naiveda is taken by the family members. Thereafter walnuts soaked in these pots and other pots, are distributed among neighbours, friends, relations along with wheaten baked bread or loaves. The parents of daughter-in-law have to send these walnuts to the parent-in-law of the girl with some loaves and cash, as they have to send **shagoon** in cash on Herat (12th or 13th) to them necessarily. Now these walnut-distribution days are known as doonya-ogdoh, doonya-doy, etc, and the last is dooya-daham (tenth shukla of Phalguna). In between comes tila-a'tham (the bright ashtami of Phalguna) which has its own significance.

According to my studies and observations, this month of merriment by the NAGAS (and now as Saraswats of Kashmir) does not end with the celebration of Herat during the Phalguna month, but extends to Chaitra as well and then ends with the Purnima of Chaitra. On Chaitra Shukla pratipada (first bright day of Chaitra) falls our NEW YEAR'S DAY, which is followed by the third bright day called *Zanga-trai*, which is a day solely observed by Saraswat women of Kashmir. On this day women go to their parents house necessarily, and if a woman's parents be not in station nearby, she goes to the house of some relations or friend who must invite her on this occasion. The nine days of Navadurga observed by the Kashmiri Saraswats and generally marked by the planting of Navadurga or barley seeds in a holy place in the worship room. The seeds sprout and grow into six inch long blades or even more which are worshipped daily and then uprooted and immersed in water on the Purnima of Chaitra. So I consider all this period starting from Phalguna Krishna Pratipada (first day of Phalguna dark fortnight) upto Purnima Chaitra or the whole period of eight weeks as a period of monumentalising the Naga festivities commencing on the appearance of land with the beginning of the desiccation of the Satisaras.

It is therefore, astonishing to think or say that there were no aborginal people until the Vedic Aryans came to Kashmir or if there were any, those people had no tongue of their own. The inland sea was inhabited by a race of people called NAGAS who spoke a lannage known as Naga language. The word itself denotes that the so called people had not come from any place outside, but were people inhabiting there. On the immigration of Saraswats or Vedic Aryans from the region to the south of Kashmir, a spectacular change took place. The NAGAS during the course of centuries were practically absorbed in the growing hordes of these outsiders. so much so that not only their manners and customs, but their tongue also underwent so marvellous a change that the Naga language except for the peculiar intonations, etc., was practically replaced by the language of these outsiders, which has rightly led one of our young scholars of Sanskrit to say that the Kashmiri language has a Vedic Sanskrit origin. The fact is that there are still some peculiarities of the Naga tongue which a e so patent that to call them otherwise would be tantamount to dubbing the NAGAS themselves as a speechless, dumb, tongueless people who only spoke in symbols without any oracular intonation or that they were a chattering savage tribe of the ape-genus whom the outsider civilised in every respect. But that is not so.

The Vedic Sanskrit is spoken in a given way, has its alphabet, vowels and consonants, intonations and sounds. No other regional language having the same Vedic Sanskrit origin or base departs from the general system or arrangement or method, e.g. Bengali, Marathi, Gujarathi, Rajasthani, Hindi, etc. But the Kashmiri language has peculiarities which are its own and bespeak the Naga characteristics. Even its idiom and proverbs have a Naga flair. The Nagas of Kashmir are not the Nagas of any other place or region of Bharat. Even the Pishachas or Yakshas have nothing to do with the Pishachas or Yakshas of any other place in the country. Yakshas were a clan of Nagas who were entrusted with a given function to perform and continued to be so treated even after the influx of four *Varnas* invited by NILA on the suggestion of his revered

father, Maharshi Kashyapa, and their preponderance culminating in the practical absorption of the Nagas themselves in these people. This is indicated by a sacredotal ritual of *khetsimavas*, wnich has a tradition of unphysical character attached thereto.

It is therefore, not correct to say or suppose that there were no people in Kashmir until the Vedic Aryans or Saraswats came thousands of years ago : nor is there any truth in the supposition that the Vedic Aryans were the people who inhabited Kashmir from the very beginning, for such a hypothesis goes against and runs counter to the Nilamapurana itself wherein it is clearly stated that the Nagas were the original inhabitants and had their own king, and the people of our Varnas were invited to oust the Pishachas who had taken possession of a part of the desiccated Valley. The word 'Kashmir' is in itself indicative of the NAGA structure. "Mor" is a Naga word and Kashmir means the abode ("mor") of the people who were the descendants of Kashyapa, and who lived and resided there.

The vowel-intonation peculiarity which is found in the Kashmiri language even at present is not found in any other language or regional tongue of Bharat. Short a, short aa, short o, short au, short deflected u, long deflected u. It will be interesting to note that the last two intonations are peculiar to the Kashmiri language only. Again the Nagas would not have or adapt ri, rii, lri, lrii, au, ah, or Ai, for these were either not needed or could not be assimilated ; and the wonder is that not withstanding the passage of thousands of years these peculiarities subsist and continue to modulate our vowel intonation. There are other peculiarities, which are characterised by non-Kashmiris as un-Sanskrit or an outrage of the Sanskrit language and its pronounciation. For instance, the Kashmiri Saraswats did not——and those who belong to the old stock and have learnt from their parents do not——pronounce the Sanskrit vowels of i, u, uu, o as the Sanskritists did or do. We do not pronounce pita (पिता) meaning father, as pita, but as peta (प्यता) ; or say Sita (सीता) as see-ta

but as *seita* (सृता) ; or say guna (गुण) as gun but as 'gon' ; or Keshva is pronounced as Kee-shava ; Kesh (hair) is pronounced as *Keesh* ; or Kuru is pronounced as koru ; or koth is pronounced as kuth ? Why Because the Nagas while adopting the Sanskrit vowel sounds stuck to their own intonations which have come down to us through the centuries.

Again, there are consonants which Nagas, a delicate people, found too hard to pronounce : and so one finds absence of aspirates in the Kashmiri language, which no other regional language of India allied to or based on Sanskrit can aford to do. We never say *ghas* (grass) but gasa ; dhan (wealth) is pronounced as *dana* ; and so on. The Nagas had their lighter cha, chha, and ja, and pronouced them as *tsa, tshha,* and *za,* which are now characteristically common in Kashmiri. If you hear a Kashmiri reading and pronouncing Sanskrit, you will find that he is doing it in his own way, in the Naga way he has been following these thousands of years : and any Sanskrit scholar from outside Kashmir is confounded and cannot follow what this Kashmiri is reading or uttering. If a modern Kashmiri Saraswat scholar for the sake of Sanskritists of India pronounces Sanskrit consonants and wovels in the Sanskrit way, he is, really speaking, at home when he does it in his Kashmiri way, as I do when I read or utter Sanskrit in the Kashmiri way. It is the same thing with a Bengali who pronounces Sanskrit in his own Bengali way with all the regard for pronouncing it in Sanskritist way. One may go to any shrine in Kashmir and there he will find the priest uttering Sanskrit in the way his ancestor did, And the wonder is that when a Kashmiri dictates Sanskrit to another Kashmiri in traditional way the writer writes the Sanskrit words correctly without committing any mistake in vowel or consonant transliteration. And this confirms the fact that we Kashmiris still carry the Naga traditions with us even in our language, though it is so predominantly saturated with Sanskrit words, idioms and diction,

This brings us to the most important subject or syntax. With the preponderating influence of Vedic Sanskrit, the Nagas did not altogether forsake their way of forming and uttering

sentences. The Sanskrit way of syntax was mixed with the Naga way and so both forms were found not unoften. For example :

I. Rama will come tommorrow ....English
Ramah shvah agamishyati ....Sanskrit
Rama iyi pagah ....Kashmiri
as in English above.

II. What is the name of your father ? ....English
tava pitur nama kim ....Sanskrit
Chanis malis kya chhu nav ....Kashmiri
(your father's what is name)

III When will you go there ? ....English
tvam tatra kada gamishyasi ....Sanskrit
saka rgatshhakh tor ....Kashmiri
(You when will go there)

So Kashmiri syntax varies a little sometimes from the Sanskrit.

As for Naga words, idioms and proverbs, it will take some time before such a list is compiled. For the present only a few will do Words which are Naga words and have been in some cases retained in Vedic Sanskrit also ; Herat Samatsratha, hom, bal, nanz (a peasant's or fisherman's hut), trath ; sani-potul, wagur ; sonzal, wol, hol, tha'r, troprith, tok, gad, etc.

Kesri tali ponya ; retshh tulani, bangi, manz, natsum, etc.

CHAPTER 2

Linguistic Sociology of Ancient Kashmir

Dr. T N. Ganjoo

It is an undeniable fact that in the evolution of language, the kin names, and terms of expression for very common and regularly surrounding objects and processes, have a primary and pre-eminent placement. The sociolinguistics and other socioligists contribute to the views that the earliest form of articulation must have grown round the kin relational primaries in the family, to artifacts and implements of daily need and the primitive psychological and sociological stresses experienced in every day life. The dynamics of the primitive culture must have, therefore, been the major source of arliculation and language.[2]

Apart from the theoritical assumption underlined above, the kin names with which this study is particularly connected has an other and a more vital aspect, and that aspect has a direct and very deep bearing on the linguistic sociology and the general investigation of the root and source of a linguistic structure. Linguistics psychology confirms the fact that the kin-names constitute a sub-stratum which through ages modifies its extension, yet remains substantially unchanged in its vital substance and basis. This sub-stratum descends down through the generations and is inherited by us and still forms an important part of the linguistic pattern of our age. The relevance of the kin-sociology[3] is formulated clearly on the ground that kin-names throw considerable light on the early language forms and their development through time which cannot be measured and approached easily. In the 18th century Sir John, a leading Indologist collected a long list of kin-names which were morphologically, phonetically and semantically of the same root and later conducted an exhaustive linguistic investigations which revolutionised the accepted notions of language and linguistics

and exploded the myth that the European languages were connected with the Semitic-Hebrew group. Sir John classified Indo-European[4] languages in a common linguistic family and opened a new perspective, not only in the linguistic movements of the Aryan stock, but also in the aryan race movements in general, which must have occured along-with.

It is in the light of these formulations that an attempt has been nade to present a survey study of the kin-names in the Kashmiri language, which is possibly the oldest derivative of the spoken Aryan language of the Rig-vedic[5] era. Kashmiri, though modified phonetically still retains the basis and root of its source. It has definitely certain special features which differentiate it from the Indo-Aryan languages of India, mainly because it is a direct descendent of the vedic. The Indo-Aryan languages have passed through many linguistic stages changing and modifying in the course of evolution and have also run into contact with languages spoken by the proto-Australoid and later mediterranean stocks, which were hurtled down to the South to settle in to Dravidian communities there. The kin-names offer the explanation for these dissimlarities and also enable us to locate the basic identity between the Vedic and the Kashmiri.

A significant aspect of the kin-names and their appreciation is their relevance to the periodisation of the evolution of economic and social frames, a fact which is of paramount importance not only to the history of Kashmir but to the entire history of India. Placed alongside the agro-linguistic studies, the kin-names provide sources for the location of social strata as they got piled up, one upon the other. The corroboration of the Kashmir, Kin-names with the Reg Vedic nomenclatures therefore, open a break-through for the constructions of the Kashmiri's historical past, which otherwise is absolutely shrouded in mystery. The attempt made here is, therefore, to provide a clue to the origin of linguistic development in Kashmir, and also periodisation of the proto-history of this ancient land.

KIN—NAMES

K : 1 Vedic=/Matri/ (Rigveda 1.24—1, 7.101—30) mother (In Kashmiri Prakrat/T /and/Y/ changes into J/. In present kashmiri/Maja/ Dr. S. K. Chatterji is of this opinion that/Matra+ Arya/has formed present form of Punjabi/ Maji/.

In Kashmiri language, there is evidence of this fact that the ancient Kashmiri Society was Matriarchal rather than Patriarchal. It is because of this fact that married daughter calls her parental home/Malyun/ (Parental home) which is broken form of/Matra +Mouli+ayanana/. In Rigveda/ayanan:is used for Home.

Vedic : /Mola/ (Pancavimsha-Bhasmana.—13.4.11)

(father) the stem of this word is based on three different roots.

(a) /Mula avadharane/
(b) /Mula Pratisthayam/
(c) /Mula Ropane/

M. Monier William's Sanskrit-English Dictionary explains the semantic of this word like—'The original root, germ, out of which all apparent forms are evolved. The primary cause/ Maula/—the head, chief, foremost and the crown.

In traditional Kashmiri language/Mola/is considered/Muladdhar a/ (The main factor of the family) This is a respectable word also. Vedic/Rishi+Nauli/ Kash/Rasoi+mola/ (Sage father).

In Kashmiri language the little boy is affectionately summoned as/Mola/. This is broken form of/Jata/Mauli/one who has hair on the crown of the head) but/Jata/word is gradually omitted.

According to the given roots it was Sexologically established fact in these days that progeny is responsible only with the aid of the father and the very root relates its evidence.

K. 2. /Bhratra (Rigveda 1.64.1) "brother" After so many phonetic changes, present spoken form of Kashmiri is/Boya/ (Brother).

K. 3. /Bhagini/ (Yaska's Nirukta-36) "sister" In modern Kashmiri it is/Beni/ (Sister).

K. 4. /Jani/ (Rigveda 4.52.1) ,"Woman". The present articulation in Kashmiri, has become voiced-affricative /zanya/ (Woman).

K. 5. /Putra/ (Rigveda—2.29.5) "Son" In the Panjabi ; Kashmiri and Hittate/tre/changes into/tar/Or/tur/ Such forms of Hittite language were found 2000 B.C. in Bogazkoi near, Asia minor) In Kashmiri it is articulated as/potur.

K. 6. /Pautra / Atharva— veda—19.5.30) "Grand-son" Kashmiri-/Putur/ (grand-son).

K. 7. /Kumari/19 (Rigveda-1.55.16) "girl" /In Kashmiri linguistics this is a common feature that central-consonant along with the long vowel omits.

I. Ved. / Tushara / Kash. / Tur. / (Cold)
II. Ved. / Kapala / Kash. / Kalu / (Head)
III. Ved. / Shragal / Kash. / Shala / (Jackal)
IV. Ved. / Shamula / Kash. / Shal / (Shawl)

Similarly the central consonant of/Kumari/is omitted along-with the long vowel : Kashmiri form is/Kur/ (girl or daughter).

K. 7 /Vayasi/ (Bhasa's-Svapna-Vasovadetta- 2.34) "female friend," In Present Kashmiri/Vyes/.

K. 8. /Jam/ (Rigveda-1.31.10) "Husband's sister." It is a startling fact that this ancient Rigvadic word/Jam/is retained only in Kashmiri and no other Indo-Aryan-language.

In Kashmiri/J/has changed into voiced affricative and present articulation is /zam/.

K. 9. /Devri/ (Rigveda-10.86.85) "Husband's brother." Here back/ri/has come to front. This is special pecularity of Kashmiri Prakriat and/V/changes into /Y/is common in all Indo-European and Indo-Aryan language.

K. 10. Vedic : /Shur/ (Rigveda 1.63.10, Nirukt 4/13) "child. In Braja Bhasa/S/has changed into-cha/, so it is/ chora/ (boy) chori (girl). Kash./Shur/ (Child). Vedic : /Pitrivya/ (Rigveda 3.53.2) "Paternal uncle"

In Kashmiri female gender has come out after joining another form.

K 11. Vedic : /Pitravya+ananya/ (Unlce's Beloved) Kashmiri/Pechanya/ (aunt).

K. 12. Vedic Jyeshth Pitrivya + Ananya/Kashmiri/Jith Pechanya/ (Eldest Aunt).

K. 13. Vedic : /Madyam + Pitrivyat / Ananya / Kashmiri/ manzim Pechanya/ (middle-aunt)

K. 14. Vedic : /Kaniseth + Pitrivya + Ananya / Kashmir/ Knus Pechanya/ (youngest aunt). Same rule is applied on mother's sister-in-law.

K. 15. Vedic : /Matul + Ananya / (Yajnavalkya-smriti-3, 23.2) (Mother's brother's wife) Kashmiri/Mamanya/(Maternal Aunt).

K. 16. Vedic : /Pitrivya+Bharatri (Rig, 3 5.82/1.14) "Paternal Brother)" Kashmiri/Pitur-Boyal/

K. 17. Vedic : /Pitrivya + Bhagini / (Rig. 3.53.2, Yaska's nirukta-3/6) (Paternal-sister)."
Kashmiri articulation/Pitura-Beni

K. 18. Vedic /Pitrivya+Bhratri + Kakini / (Rig 3,53.2 1.16.5 "Kakini" Rudra Yamala tantra—" One who bestows nectar (Kakini Amrita Jevini) Modern Kashmiri / Piturbay Kakany / (Paternal brother's wife).

Maharashtri=/kaki/(brother's wife)

K. 19. Vedic : / Matul / (Asvalayana-grihyasutri 1·24.4) Declension of vocative case/Mama / (V.S. Apte's Sanskrit English Dictionary Vol. II p. 1263) Maternal uncle. Kashmiri articulation/mam/The Kinship of maternal uncle side follows the same pattern.

K. 20. Vedic/Mam-ith-Bharatri/ (Yajnavalkya-Smriti-3.232, Rig. V, 1.164) "Maternal brother" Kashmiri/mamutur-Boya/"Maternal brother"

K. 21. Vedic/mam-ith-Bhagini/ (Yaska's Nirukta 3.6) In Kashmiri language / mamutur-Beni / "Maternal sister" The kinship is expanded by using/Mam-ith/ which denotes the maternal uncle's side.

K. 22. Vedic: (mam-ith-Jami/Kah/Mamutur-zam/(maternal-sister-in-law).

K. 23. Vedic : (Mam-ith-Bhratri-kakini/kash. / Mamutur-Bay-kakany) (maternal sister-in-law).
The maternal uncle's third generation extends on the same principle.

K. 24. Vedic : /Mamith-Bhratri-nicchiva/
Kashmiri-mamutur-Bay Sund-Nchuv / (Maternal brothers son).

/Sund/post position belongs to Shourseni Prakrit, there it is used for oblative while in Kashmiri it is used for genitive.

K. 25. Vedic : /mam-ith-Bhratri-Kumari/ Kashmir-mamutur-Bay-Sunz-kur/ (maternal & brother's daughters/Sunz/Post Position as genitive in female gender).

K. 26. /Matri Mouli-alaya / (mother father's house) Kashmir/Malunya/. (In Kashmiri prakirt/T/and/d/ generally changed into/J/.

O. 27. Vedic : /Krevyada/Kashmir/Kavuja / an appointed man of cremation ground.

O. 28. Vedic : /Matri / Kashmiri/Maj/ (Mother)

K. 29. Vedic : /Bratri-kakini/Kash / Bayikakuny / Sister-in law" Or general term for brother's wife. The gradual development according to the Age-group.

K. 30. / Jyshth-Bhratri-Kakini/ "eldest." brother's wife "Kash/zithbaykakanya/

K. 31. Vedic : / Madhyama - Bhratri - kakini / Kashmiri / Manzum-Baykakanya/ "middle brothers wife." Same rule is applied for the formation of male gender.

K. 33. Kash-Zuth petur/eldest uncle.

K. 34. Kash/Manzum Petur/ (middle uncle)

K. 35. Kash/knus petur/youngest uncle.

K. 36. Vedic : /Matrishvasri / Panini Asthadhyayi 4.1.134 "Maternal Aunt"

O. 37. Bangla/Masim/

O. 38. Maharasthri/masi/

O. 39. Punjabi/Masi

K. 40. Kashmiri/mas/

K. 41. Vedic : /Pitrishvarri/ (Panini 4.1.135)

O. 42. Bangla/Pisiwa/

O. 43. Sindhi/Pa/

O. 44. Punjabi/Phuphi/

O. 45. Kashmiri/Popha/ (father sister)
The male gender is made by using/uva/suffix/.

K. 46. Vedic : /Masuv/ (maternal uncle for Husband of mother's sister). / Paphuv/ (Paternal uncler or Husband of father's sister)
This will not be off the point to mention that the male-maternal uncle and male-paternal uncle is missing in vedic literature. But Kashmiri has retained its ancient form, though phonetically tremendous change has occured.

K. 47. (a) Vedic : Matrishvasri+Dhavh/Kashmiri / Mas+Uv/ (Mother's Sister's Husband)

K. 48. (b) Vedic : /Pitrshvasri+Dhavn/Kashmiri/Paphu+Uv/. (father's sister's husband)
The Linguistic expansion of three kin names will follow the same rule.

K. 49. Vedic : /Matrishvasri+Bratri/
Kash/masatur+Boye/ (Maternal Brother)

K. 50. Vedic : Mastrishvasri+Bhagini/
Kash/Mastur+Beni (maternal sister).

K. 51. Vedic : /Matrishvasri+Bhagini + Ramanaka/Kash. /Masur+Beni (Hund)+Run (Hund/see k. 24) English/Maternal+sister's+Husband/

K. 52. Vedic : /Patrishvasri+Bhagini+Ramanaka/ (Paternal+sister's husband) Kash/Pophatur+Beni (Hund) +Run (Hund/see k. 24)

K. 53. Vedic : Ouras+Bhratri/Rigveda 1.166. 4-1 Sakuutala-7) "Step brother". Kash. Vore+Boyi

K. 54. Vedic : /Auras+Bhagini (Yaska's Nirukt 3/6) Kash /Vora+Beni / "Step sister). In Kashmiri / Ouras/is essentially used step kin-name relation.

K. 55. Vedic : (Aurasa+Mam / Kash / Vora mam/ (Step maternal uncle).

K. 56. Vedic : /Aurasa Mouli / kash / Vora+mal / "Step father."

K. 57. Vedic : Aurasa Matri/kash/Vora maja/English/Step mother/.

K. 58. Vedic : Aurasa Necchivi (Rig. 8.93.22) Kash./Vora nechuva/ "Step son"

K. 59. Vedic : /Garbha+aurasa/Kash/Gobour/. (Not particularly one's own son but used for any boy frequently)

K. 60. Vedic:=/Bhratri+Putra/ (Rig. 1.164.2) Kashmir/Bapathur/Nephew.

K. 61. Vedic : /Bagini+Putra/ (Yaska's Nirukt-36) (Rigveda-2.99.5) Kashmir/Benthur/Sister's son.

K. 62. Vedic : /Bhratri+Tanuja/ (Rigveda 5.70.4) (Yaska's Nirukta 3/6) Kash./Bevaz/ (niece, brother's daughter).

K. 63. Vedic /Bhagini+tanuja/ (Yaska's Nirukta 3.6) Kash./Bavaz/ "Sister's daughter"

K. 64. Vedic : Snusha/ (Rig. 10.86.13) "bride"
In Kashmiri linguistics generally frontal voweless consonant/S omits. Kash./Nosh/ (Bride)

K. 65. Vedic : /Smabandhin/ (Mahabharata 5.17.20)
"A relation by marriage"
Kashmiri/Sonya/ (bride's or bridegroom's father)
Kashmiri/Sonyenya (bride's or Bridegroom's mother)

K. 66. Vedic : /Vridha+Abha/ (Aitereya Brahman 3.48.9 and Kaskritsnā Grammar).
The basic root is/Abha Janane which means originator, race, lineage and father. In Sanskrit language the common word for grand-father is/Pitamaha which denotes greater than father. But in Kashmiri proto-vedic form is adopted for this kinname which means "Old originator of the family.
Kashmiri / Budi+Bab / (grand-father)

K. 67. Vedic : / Nana / (Rigveda 9.112. 3)
In Rigveda/Nana / is registered for mother but the ancient must have remained for grand-mother. The new Indo-Aryan languages of India have retained this kin-name with slight classification in respect of maternal and paternal relations viz. / Nana-Nani / grandma and grand-pa of maternal side and/Dada-Dadi/Grandma and grand-pa or paternal side. But in Kashmiri it is some how different, the paternal grandma is classified, if it becomes necessary other wise not/garucha+Nannya/whose origin is/Griha+ith+Nana (belongs to paternal home) while the maternal grand mother is known as/Matamalucha+Nanya/which is the broken form of / Matri+Mouli +Ayana/(belongs to mother's fathers house).

K. 68. Vedic : Avarin+jaya / (Rigved 10.34.2.3). / Avarin-means a degraded or a censured women.
Kash./Voruz/ (a women who marries after the death of her husband. Generally such marriages are not considered socially good.

K. 69. Vedic : /Sapatni / (Rigveda 3.1.10) (Co-wife)
(In Kashmiri linguistics / P / has changed into / V / and only / N / is retained out of / tni / .
Kash-/Svon/ (Co-wife)

K. 70. Vedic : / Poutra / (Atharvaveda 9.5.00. 11.7.16) "grand-son" Kash. / putur / (Grand son)

K. 71. Vedic. / Naptri / (Samaveda 5.13. (Arnayagan) grand-daughter."
In Kashmiri/Nap/is omitted and/tri/is changed into/ Jri/Kashmiri/zura/.

K. 72. Vedic : /Jamatri/ (Rigveda 8.2.2) "Son-in-law"
Kash/Zamatur/ (Son in law)
(In Kashmiri prakrit/Ri/chages into/tur/.

K. 73. Vedic : /Shashur/Rigveda 10.86.13) father-in-law."
In Kashmiri Prakrita vowelless consonent usually omits in case it is in front of the word.

K. 74. Vedic : /Sphot/Kashmiri/Phut (Broken).

K. 75. Vedic : /Sphorum/Kashmiri/Phorum/ (trob of eye)
This front/V/of the Shrashru/is omitted and/Sh/is changed into/H/. Kashmiri/Hihuru/ (father-in-law).

K. 76. Vedic : /Shrashru/ (Rigveda: 10.85.46, 1034,3).
The linguistic development is almost same as already seen in Hihura/ (father-in-law).
Kashmiri/Hasha/ (mother-in-law),
The in-laws kin-names follow the same principle.

K. 77. Vedic : / Pitrivya + Shvashri / (father-in-law's brother).
Kashmiri / Petru Hihur/

K. 78. Vedic : /Pitrivya Shashru/ (father-in-law's brother's wife)

Kashmiri / Petru / Has /
The following three terms indicate Age-wise chronology :

K. 79. Vedic : /Jyosth / Kashmiri / zath (eldest)

K. 80. Vedic : /Madhyama / Kashmiri / Manzum / (middle)

K. 81. Vedic : Kanitha/Kashmiri/Knus/ (Youngest).
Euphonic combination of allomorph is framed like this

K. 82. Vedic : Jyosth+ Pitrivya + Shrashura / Kashmiri / Zuth+Petru+Hihur/(father-in-law's eldest brother).

K. 83. Vedic : /Jyoth+Pitrivya+Shvashru/Kashmiri/zith+petri+Has/ (father-in-laws eldest brother's wife)
The other forms adopt the same rule.

K. 84. Vedic : Matrisvasri + Shrashures / Kash. Masu + Hihur/ (mother-in-laws sister's husband)
The Age-wise gradation follows the same pattern i.e./zuth / (eldest). / Manzum / (middle) /Knus/ (youngest).

K. 85. Vedic : /Matrisvasri + Shashru / Kashmiri/Masu+Hash /

K. 86. Vedic Patri+Shavsri+Shashru/
Kashmir / Pephu + Hihur (father-in-laws sister's husband).

K. 87. Vedic / Pitrishavsri+Shavashru/ Kash-Pephu+Has/ father-in laws sister).
The Age-wise grouping as classified in three forms/ Zuth / (Eldest) / Manzum (Middle) and/Knus/ (youngest)

K. 88. Vedic / Shyalah / Rigveda 1.00. 1.109.2) Kashmir / (brother-in-law) / Sh/changes into/H/and/L/changes into/R/

K. 89. Vedic : Shyalh Bharya/Kas./Haharu Bayi/ (brother-in-laws wife or wife's brother's wife)

K. 90. Vedic : Shyale / (Ate's Sanskrit D. Part II. 1672) (Rigveda-1-109. 2) Kash./Sala/ (wife's sister)

K. 91. Vedic : /Syali+Dhava/Appetis Sanskrit. Part III 1672) (wife's sister's husband (In Kashmiri/L/usually changes into/J/see No. 7 Kashmiri/Sajuv/ (wife's sisters husband).

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CHAPTER 3

Kanishka's Buddhist Council in Kashmir

Prof. Dr. Tokan D. Sumi

Kashmir's history and culture goes back to very very ancient period and this lovely land has absorbed many cultures and the present day blended culture of Kashmir may be Buddhist, Shaivist, and Islamic at the same time. Kashmir is of great cultural interest to us because it was here that the Mahayana bloomed and travelled from this very land to China, Korea and then to Japan. It was through the efforts of the great Kashmiri scholar, Kumarajiva, that Buddhist culture was introduced in Central Asia. I need not deal with the activities of other Kashmiri scholars, like Gunavarman, who gave a new cultural life to Tibet. In fact, many a scholars of the world have written much about the activities of the Buddhist faith and culture in various lands. I am submitting all this to show that Kashmir occupied a very important place in the history of Buddhism and it is for this very reason that Kanishka convened his council here.

It is known to you all that the Council, about which I am talking, was convened by Kanishka. He was known as Shaona-noshao Kaneshki Koshano. How these Kushanas came to Kashmir, is another story and I need not deal this issue in detail. I will deal with it briefly.

Kushanas belong to the Yuechi (Yueh-Shih) tribe. which rose to power in about 162. B.C. and they lived in the Kansu province. But, their success was short-lived and their leader Chang-lun was defeated by Lao-Shang. They were vanquished and turned out of their homes in about 177 B.C. They fled towards Kipin or Kashmir. Later they occupied Afghanistan and were known as Kushanas.[2] Historical as well as numismatic

evidence has established that Kashmir formed a part of the great Kushana empire.

There is literary evidence to the effect that Solomon came to Kashmir by air and rested on the top of Larjeet hill in Srinagar. This hill is known as Takhat-i-Sulaiman or the Solomon's throne, even to day. He is said to have removed hinderances in the normal flow of the river Jehlum near Baramulla and saved Kashmir from submerging under water. Solomon is supposed to have entrusted the Government of the valley with the three Turushka princes : Hushka, Jushka Kanishka.[5] This information has been given by Fauq on the basis of the evidence provided by Ratnakara. The world famous Rajatarangini of Kalhana has a brief but celerbrated reference to the three Turushka rulers. Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka. That particular verse is as under :—

"Then there were in this land three kings called. Huska, Jusko and Kaniska.who built three towns named after them."[4]

With the coming of the Kushanas, Buddhism received a tremendous impetus. There is no denying the fact that during their rule Buddhism enjoyed real patronage. Coins of Huska or Huviskha and Kanishka have been located in Kashmir.[5] Although, no numismatic evidence has come to light about Jushka, yet building of the town of Jushkapura (modern Zukur) has been attributed to him. To Hushka, the buiding of Husukpura (Ushkur) is attributed and in the same way Kanishka is supposed to have founded Kanishkapura, now, known as Kanispur. They are also said to have built many Buddhist Viharas. Nagarjuna, who lived in 'the wood of the six saints', now known as Harwan, has been termed as Bodhisatva.[6] Nagar juna was a person of great celebrity and scholarship. Kalhana has the following reference about him :

"And a Bodhisattva lived in this country as the sole lord of the land, namely the glorious Nagarjuna, who resided at Sadarhadvana."

It was he, who denominated the Saka era, now in vogue in India.[7]

Soon after the passing away of the Sakyamuni Buddha, his followers convened a council at Rajagriha in a cave, with the purpose of codifying the canon. This council drew up the Tripitaka. A century or so later, differences arose between the two factions of the Buddhists. One section wanted to relax the rules of discipline, while the other faction was totally against modernising the canon. Accordingly, to settle these differences another council was convened at Vaishali.[8]

It was attended to by nearly 700 monks. Majority of the delegates refused to bring about any change, with the result that the rebels formed themselves in to a new sect. They came to be known as the Mahasanghikas. The Buddhist Sangha got split into 18 sects and the conservatives came to be known as Sthaviras or Theravadins. The Sangha, which had played an important role in the spread of Buddhism through united efforts, fell into pieces and became weak. I seek your indulgence to say more about these councils, because Kanishka's council was patterned after the traditions of the previous conferences.

Ashoka, the famous son of Bindusara reigned over the Maurya empire during the 3rd centry B C. During his reign Buddhism issued the position of an official religion. His missionary zeal, his deputations to foreign lands and his rock edicts, viharas and stupas are well known. In order to bring unity in the Buddhist Sangha, he convened a council of Buddhist luminaries.[9] As the council had been summoned under royal auspices, nearly 50 thousand arhats, bikhshus and other Buddhists reached the venue of the Council.[10]

This huge gathering included Kashmiris also as is shown by the later events, The conservatives were led by Moggaliputta Tissa and the freethinkers were led by Mahadeva. We learn from the Chinese sources that Asoka took the side of the orthodox Theravadains. Being led to believe that Asoka would drown them into the river Ganges, the free-thinkers, Sarvastivadins

fled to Kashmir to take refuge in the valleys, and hills.[11] The statement of Hiuen Tsiang that Asoka buiit 500 monasteries and bestowed the entire valley to them and similar statements made by Taranatha can be interpreted to mean that Asoka tried his best to appease the rebels and bring them to the fold of the Sangha but having failed, he gave up Kashmir for good. Kashmir delegation having fled from the council, the Theravadins felt free to compile Kathavatthu. The Sarvastivadins of Kashmir accelerated their activities and gave a definite shape to their reformist ideas, paving way for Mahayana.[12] I have stated all this to show that the Kashmiri Buddhists of that period were pioneers of progressive ideas even in those days and they had become leaders of a definite school of thought in Buddhist philosophy. Naturally, Kanishka thought it fit to summon his council in Kashmir.

According to the Buddhist traditions, Kanishka, the Kushan Emperor, held his Buddhist Council in Kashmir.[13] He was advised by Parsva (Parsvika) to summon all the monks for collection of sacred texts, and to prepare commentaries of the Sutras, the Vinaya and the Abhidharma. This council was held at Kundalwan in Kashmir. It has been termed as Kien-the-lo in the Chinese geography. Besides the large audience, this council was attended to by 500 Arhats, 500 Budhisattvas and 500 Panditas.[14]

Asvaghosa, the celebrated author Buddhacarita, the Saundrananda and the Sariputra-prakarana, attended this council. It goes to the credit of this council that commentaries on all the Buddhist texts were compiled into two treatises known as *Upadesa-Sastras and Vibhasa sastras*.[15] The later is known as Kasmirshi in Chinese. It also goes to the credit of this council that for the first time in the history of Buddhism, freedom of thought and expression was recognised and it was declared that texts of all the 18 schools of throught in Buddhism were correct ; for all of them contained the word of the Master.[17] This council is important in this respect also, because it marks a new epoch in the hisotry of Buddhism. These doctrines penetrated into Kabul, Kandhar, Central Asia and Tibet. Kanishka, patronised such activities and even made a gift of Kashmir to the Sangha.[18]

It has further been given by the Chinese sources that the final decisions of the Council were engraved on copper plates and deposited in a stupa, under orders of the King.[19] Excavations done at Harwan, Ushkur and Ahan have revealed existence of Buddhist relics but no traces of these copper plates have been found and this problem still engages attention of scholars throughout the world.[20]

The three Pitakas, which ran into 300,000 verses, were engraved on Copper plates and deposited in a vihara specially constructed for this purpose.[21] It is necessary to quote the relevant paragraph from the detailed description as given by Hiuen Tsiang and it reads as under :

> "Kanishka-raja forth with ordered these discourses to be engraved on sheets of red copper. He enclosed them in a stone receptacle, and having sealed this, he raised over it a stupa with the Scriptures in the middle. He commanded the Yakshas to defend the approaches to the kingdom, so as not to permit the other sects to get these sastras and take them away with the view that those dwelling in the country might enjoy the fruits of this labour."[22]

The historical value of this very important information provided by Hiuen Tsiang has been challenged. It is also suspected that it is only a pious fabrication of the famous Chinese traveller who came to Kashmir in the 7th century.[23] There may be two reasons for this conclusion. One may be that Kalhana makes no mention of the Buddist Council, what-so-ever. Secondly, a third century manuscript by Paramartha on the life of Vasubandhu makes no mention of the council convened by Kanishka at Kundawan in Kashmir.

I have myself translated the Rajatarangini into Japanese and I have felt that Kalhana has left many important facts of historical importance. To go into the details on the issue is not the topic of the discussions to day. Secondly, Paramartha, though of earlier orgin, did say about a Buddhist Council, which summoned the famous Buddhist scholar, Ashavgosha to

Jalandhra for 12 years to produce a giganttc encyclopedia of Sarvastivadin canon. It makes no mention of Kanishka's council, but a colophon on the manuscript does make mention of Kanishka. This clearly shows that some conference was convened during the reign of Kanishka. Probably, this may have been an earlier or preparatory conference to the Kanishka's Buddhist Council in Kashmir. One thing most significant about this Council is that the un-named king, ordered, that the canon, thus formulated in Jallandhara Council, should not be allowed to go out of Kashmir. This clearly shows that this conference was also held either in Kashmir at a place known as Jalandhara of if we have to seek Jalandhara outside Kashmir, then it may be said that, at the most, the meeting continued for 12 years in that Jallandhara and the fruits of labour were preserved in Kashmir. In both the cases, we have to search these relics in Kashmir.

While Hiuen Tsiang has stated that the Council was held in Kashmir, he has not given the exact location of the site. Taranatha has mentioned Kundalwan as the place where this great council of the Buddhist faith was held. Many an archaeologists of the world have been searching Kundal wanvihara in Kashmir. Some have identified it with Kanzalwan or Kuntilun, the hilly slopes from Harwan to Gupkar in Srinagar. Some are of opinion that the village Kond in Kulgam is the actual site. It has also been claimed that Ushkur is the possible site. Some are of opinion that the possible site is near Ahan in Sumbal or Kanelwan near Budavihara (Bijbehara). It has also been claimed that the site is 64 kilo-meters from Srinagar and may be at Budmul between Barmulla and Handwara. There is another possible site in the Buddhagham (Budgam) area where a huge stone and some relics exist even today.[24] What is needed is that systematic excavations of all these places should be undertaken either by the State Archaeology or by the University.

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CHAPTER 4

Scientific & Cultural Heritage of Kashmir

Dr. S. G. Nabi

Over and above its natural scenic beauty, the valley of Kashmir is well-known to the whole world for her rich cultural heritage, We have inherited numerous traditions, customs and even beliefs compared with which progress of the western countries cannot boast of any comparison. Our Rishis, Saints and Sufis aspired to the realization of the infinite. Their works are the store-houses of wisdom and knowledge. The earliest customs and beliefs still persist in an oriented form in a major section of the Kashmiris.

Kashmir has been for centuries, the fountain head of art and culture in thc East. Being at cross-roads of ancient caravan routes in Central Asia, Kashmir has been the meeting point of various cultures such as the Semitic, the Greek, the Buddhist, the Shaivist and the Muslim. The distinctive feature of Kashmir is that all these cultures are not merely stages of past history, but are living co-existent forces. To regard Kashmir only as a place of great natural beauty would mean a failure to appreciate its other achievements and its many sided character.

We, as Kashmiris, feel proud to recall that the 4th International Buddhist Council was held in Kashmir in the first century A.D. during the reign of Kanishka.

This Council gave a new shape to Mahatma Buddha's message and its proceedings changed the entire cultural out-look of the Central Asia, China, Tibet, and Japan. . The ever green romance of Heemal and Nagrai. which is the only contribution of Nagas to our literary culture is one of the beautiful parts of our national heritage. For a long time, Kashmir along with Nalanda and Texila shared fame as an important seat of learn-

ing in the East. Here gathered scholars from different parts of the world to exchange views and ideas. Reverting to our historical background of culture, Kashmir is deeply indebted to Hazrat Mir Syed Ali Hamdani and his spiritual successors, who revolutionized our culture and left an ever-lasting impact upon our social and economic behaviour. The manufacture of Shawls for which Kashmir is reputed throughout the world, is one the initiative of Hazrat Mir Syed Ali Hamdani first and later by Budshah.

Because of the lack of authentic records, very little is known of the development of ancient Kashmiri science. Howerver history bears withness to the fact that the Nagas were the first civilized settlers who are reported to have cultivated Saffron, discovered Copper and bequeathed to posterity, adoration of springs, besides a good number of myths and legends some of which are still alive in the valley. It is from this time that the science appears in its primitive form. But in those days, art and science were concerened with religious problems and there had been efforts of creating objects and places for worship dedicated to religious ends. The earliest history is preserved in the ruins of Martand, whieh indicate that those people had a considerable knowledge of basic science and in this context "Surya" the Canal engineering maker is a famous name in Kashmir, who intelligently solved the problem of floods and removed thc waters of Jhelum by a scientific and planned manner. He carried-out many useful operations and revised the irrigation system of villages on a scientific basis. He indicated. Avantivarmas bold steps of allowing him to prove his claim. In consequence of these improvements production increased so much that price of rice came down from 200 Dinars a Kharwar to 36 Dinars.

The creative and useful arts that represent the culture of a nation are dancing, painting, music etc. Before the arrival of Hazrat Amir, dancing was permanent occupation in Kashmir and according to Srivar, one dancing girl in Budshah' time, could express 49 emotions in her poses. Painting was replaced

by more useful techniques as designing in paper-machie, embroidery, carpet-making, in which Kashmir excelled. Sculpture for carving out images of gods was also a permanent occupation of Kashmiris. Music has ever been encouraged by rulers and the common folk.

During Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin's time, Martand and Zainagir irrigations canals were prepared for irrigation of the dry areas. A Darogha-i-amarat (Town planner) was appointed for maintenance of Srinagar city. It was in his time that the cultural, political and religious relations were established with Iran and Central Asia. In his period many books on medicine, philosophy and other sciences were written under the personal care of the Sultan. Many diseases were cured by Ayurvedic medicines. Since Kashmir is rich in different species of herbs, Ayurvedic medicines would have an undisputed position in the ancient Kashmir. Our medicines were dominated by the Persian and Arabic influences and resulted in an amalgam of Unani medicine as it pâssed through many hands. The pattern of medical practice changed and the Unani system of medicine continued and even today, it is a living science and many people in Kashmir are being treated according to this system. A system that has survived through ceuturies cannot be lightly dismissed as being unscientific.

In view of the rigorous climate, hilly and un-even land, less attention was paid to the agriculture. However animal breeding has been a permanent profession of the man, since pre-historic times. High up in the green pastures of Kashmir, animal breeding is perhaps as old as the Kashmir history itself. It is perhaps due to the fact that the professions other than animal breeding were influenced by chilly winters. Various kinds of woolen blankets and garments such as *Lohita Kambala Sthula-Kambala*, *Prawara* are referred to in Usdars Narmamata and Samay-amatrakan. Kalhan's Raja-Tarangani, says that Pattana (Patan) was a city famous for waving of clothes. Woolen industry naturally pre-supposes the existence of a population devoted to pasture and there must have been many people in Kashmir who took up sheep rearing.

Here I shall leave the topic of scientific heritage, half touched for the lack of authentic evidence available, till the majority of writers begin to step forward in this direction and fill in the gaps.

Today in the secular government it appears strange that our culture is rooted in spiritual values. But our sense of nationhood was so deep rooted that we have always resisted foreign domination. Our artistic ingenuinty and our hospitality have rare parallels in our neighbouring countries. The history of the valley is by no means merely a record of local events, but is linked up with great figures and historical movements that affected the whole continent of Asia, and an interest in the events of Kashmiri's past forms a good introduction to the treasures of Asiatic life and literature.

CHAPTER 5

Islam in Kashmir

Prof. Mohi-ud-din

KASHMIR, one of the most fascinating valleys of the world, has althrough various periods of history been penetrated deeply by political and religious movements. True, the tall mountains stood a hurdle yet the beauties and excellencies of nature and culture attracted kings as also the religious leaders to influence the people of Kashmir. This may perhaps be one of the reasons that we have not had our own rulers for the last three thousand years in the strict scene of the term. However, this being a separate issue, I would not like to go into the details. My subject being religion, I would simply therefore, discuss one of the most important periods of the religious history of Kashmir - the Islamic period of History.

This may sound rather strange that even given during Prophet Mohammad's life time, two emissaries are reported to have come to Kashmir and the Raja Vanadutta was deeply moved, consequent where upon he led a very simple life and even distributed one tenth of his agricultural produce amongst the poor and needy as usher.[1] Whether or not the emissaries came to this part of the world is not very material, for the muslims moved quickly with a religious fervour to various parts of the world and brought a large number of people to the fold of Islam. The muslims have had to use force also on certain occasions but as for Kashmir, no force was used to convert non-muslims to Islam. Rather influx of saints, scholars and adventures continued who by their piety and scholarship attracted the people of Islam.[2]

Hamim, a Syrian, who became the ruler of Shahalha after the death of Jaisya succeeded in converting some locals to

Islam. He also founded masjids there.[3] Hindu majority of the population declared them untouchables and were forced to live seperately. They were called Mleechhas and we have still a Mohalla near Aali Kadal called as Mallechhamar or the abode of the Mellechas. Services of these muslims were called for by the Hindu rulers of Kashmir, such as Harsha, while doing some deeds (breaking of idols) which would antognise the Brahmins.[4] War prisoners and criminals were sold to these muslims who would welcome them to their fold and grant them all previleges in society.[5] With the passage of time their sincerity and bravery appealed the minds of rulers who recruited them in the army.[6] It was through unobstrusive labours of these soldiers that some of the tribes in the remotest corners of the valley were converted to Islam,[7] Marco Polo also refers the presence of Muslims in Kashmir in 1277 A. D.[8]

Defeat of Lakshmanadeva at the hands of Turuska i. e. a Turkish Muslim named Kajjala in 1168 A.D. is a turning point in the history of Kashmir.[9] Lakshmanadeva's defeat encouraged a large number of muslim saints to come to the valley, Their simple and pious lives struck the people around them as worthy of emulation and the tenets of Islam they preached appeared to the people as a message of hope. They played a role of Greek and Roman scholars, who running away from constantinople in 1453, "disseminated all over Europe the seeds of the Renaissance."[10]

Gyalpo Rinchanas, coming to the fold of Islam and becoming the first muslim ruler of Kashmir is a fact beyond any doubt but the way he became a muslim is a matter of controversy and scores of opinions have been forwarded by various historians. Jonaraja, the contemporary historian of the period says that Rinchana, a Buddhist by faith wanted to become a Shaivite but was not allowed by the Chief Brahaman Daveswami, on the plea that there existed no place for converts in the Brahaminical fold.[11] This view is refuted by another scholar on the ground that the Ancient and Medieval Kashmir witnessed the conversions from Buddhism to Hinduism and vice versa.[12] The fact remains that the inherited beliefs

had lost grip on Rinchana as the "Vashnavites and the Shaivites managed to get into the sacred fold of Buddhism and cleverly sabotaged its lofty ideals from within."[13] Buddhism had been absorbed into Hinduism to such an extent that Buddha was claimed as the sixth avtara of Vishnu, with the result that Buddha's individual and distinct existence had vanished.[14] It is also opined that Rinchana in a state of confusion left the decision of adopting the religion of the person whom he would see first next morning to chance.[15] But it appears that Rinchana who had the capacity to become the ruler of Kashmir, inspite of the fact that he did not hail from the valley would not leave such a decision to chance. The fact remains that his thirst to find out truth brought him into contact with Sayyid Sharaf-ud-din commonly known as Bulbul-Shah.[16] Rinchana learned from him the soul and spirit of Islamic principles which are free from rituals. He was already in knowledge of some fundamentals of Islam because of his intimate connection with Shahamera.[17] Above mentioned facts justify the contention that it were the teachings of Islam, which are simple, free from ceremonies, caste and priesthood that Rinchana became a Muslim and adopted the name Sadr-ud-din.[18] This historic decision of Rinchana changed the course of history and Kashmir for the first time was included in the map of the muslim world. The king's example was followed by his subjects as ancient and medieval history is full of instances when people invariably followed the footsteps of the ruler who had undergone a religious conversion. Syria, Iran and Iraq became muslim states when its rulers "drew their subjects after them." Jainism and Buddhism is full of long and telling stories illustrating this general principle.[19] Further inhuman treatment meted out to lower caste Hindus compelled them to come out from the social order which would give them the position "little better than cattle owned by the Brahamans." A molten lead was poured into the ears of a Sudra if he would hear sacred hyms and his tongue was cut off for reciting any verse from the sacred scriptures.[20] Lower caste Hindus rebelled against this social order when the message of Islam appeared on the Scene.[21]

"Hearken to my words. O men, for I know not whether I shall see you here another year.
All customs of paganism have been abolished under my feet.
The Arab is not superior to the non-Arab; the non Arab is not superior to the Arab. You are all sons of Adam and Adam was made of earth.
Verify. all Muslims are brothers.
Your slaves. Feed them as you feed yourselves and dress them as you dress yourselves.
The blood feuds of the time of Ignorance are prohibited.
Remember Allah (in your dealings with) women
You have rights over them and they have rights over you
If a deformed Abyssinian slave holds authority over you and leads you according to the Book of Allah, Obey him."

This message appealed their minds and they could not resist the temptation of embracing Islam as it offered a fair chance to improve their social position.[22] At least, an untouchable was convered to Islam he was taken at par with other Mulsims by high cast Hindus.[23]

But at the same time we cannot rule out the possibility of mass conversion to the imitative habits of Kashmiri's [24] From ancient times Kashmir has been a meeting ground of many a culture. The valley was peopled by the Nagas, the Pisachas and the Yakshas in the beginning. Then came, the Aryans, the Huns, the Jews and the Kushanas. The Kashmiri's became the followers of aborginal beliefs of Mahayaist school of thought and the Shiva philosophy from time to time thus went on changing their beliefs in order to enrich their culture. In the same way they also embraced Islam, with the result that our present day culture is Jewish, Buddhist, Shavist and Islamic at the same time.[25]

High caste Hindus for the "lure of high posts or feudatory gains". embraced Islam in large numbers.[26] "Love of position writes Dr. Iswari Prassad, "money and office must have induced some of the most talented men to embrace Islam and to shed their old beliefs practices."[27] Prone, as they were to supersti-

tions did not adopt the religion as preached by its founder, rather introduced certain practices which appears to be un-Islamic. The Buddhist Muslims of the valley continued to follow their own style of architecture and added innovations.[28] Sultan Qutab-ud-Din inspite of being a Muslim king would visit in the morning a temple Alaudin Pora. He had still two wives who were two sisters which is unislamic.[29] Innovation of the period is imprint of a foot in a stone which is still revered by the Muslims as Kadam-i-Rasul (Vishnu's foot) and by Buddhist as Sakyamuni-pad (Buddha's foot print). Even now we find people "like to gaze on the saints old clothes and turban, and to examine the cave in which he spent his ascetic life."[30]

Such type of composite Kashmiri culture we do not find in any Islamic country.

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CHAPTER 6

Sufism and its main Themes

Dr. A. Qiayum Rafiqi

SUFISM reached Kashmir after it had entered the last and most important phases of its history—the organization of khanqahs and silsilas. Almost simultaneously with the foundation of Muslim rule in Kashmir (720/1320), Sufism was introduced there. But real and continuous Sufi activities began only towards the end of the fourteenth century. Hence forward Sufis of outstanding personality, like Saiyid Ali Hamadani Mir Mohummad, Saiyid Jamal-ud-Din Bukhari and Saiyid Isma'il Shami, began to enter Kashmir in quick succession.

Although in their organizational and devotional practices they differed from each other, their ideological framework was based mainly on the works of Ibn 'Arabi, and they seem to have taken little notice of Shaikh 'Ala-ud-Daula's criticism of Wahdat-ul-wajud. It seems that the traditions of Najm-ud-Din Kubra were too strong for Saiyid Ali Hamadani to break by carving out a line of action based on Shaikh 'Ala-ud-Daula Simani's opposition of Wahdat-ul-Wajud.

However, Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani and other Sufis who came to Kashmir were deeply impressed with the teachings of Shaikh 'Ala-ud-Daula Simnani upon the missionary activities which he expected Sufia to perform.

The period when Suffis from Persia and Central Asia began to pour into Kashmir synchronized with the development of an indigenous Sufi order known as the Rishi order, which encouraged a life of peaceful co-existence with all human beings. This divided Suffism in Kashmir into two different broad trends ; the orthodox trend was generally followed by

the Sufis who migrated from Persia and Central Asia. While the Rishis, mostly native, practised a broadly based system of co-existence.

The orthodox attracted the intellectual element, fortified by their superior ability in the literary arts, they served the rulers, whether at court or in the administrative branches. Their main concern appears to have been to help the administration, and make it an instrument in propagating Islam.

Sufia and the Shi'is

The orthodox approach of the Sufis as regards conformity with the Sunni traditions is reflected some what in their struggle against Shi 'ism' which was first introduced in Kashmir towards the beginning of the sixteenth century. In the early centuries of Islam the development of both Sufism and Shi 'ism took place in parallel streams. Both were the victims of persecution by the orthodox elements attached to the Umaiyad and the 'Abbasid courts. Both regarded Ali, the fourth Caliph, as the leader of their respective systems.

Shi 'is recognised 'Ali as their first Imam and the rightful successor of the prophet Mohammad. The Sufis generally traced their silsilas from 'Ali down the own times.

The Isma'ili activities in twelfth and thirteenth century Persia had disturbed all Sufis, including Najm-ud-Din Kurba. But this had not made them unsympathetic to the Isna 'Ashari Shi' is who were not concerned with the political activities of the Ismailis.' But the Sufis were generally hostile to some of the Isna 'Ashari Shi'j activities, particularly those reviling the, first three caliphs and the prophet's wife 'Aisha. In Kashmir too, many Kubravi and Suhrawardi saints made strenous efforts to support the Sunni cause, which the dominance of Shi' is in politics in the second half of the sixteenth Century had undermined.

Range of Orthodox Sufi and Rishi Activities

The ramifications of the orthodox mind assumed diverse forms. They were reflected in efforts to sustain the contour of the structure of doctrinal Islam. Such activities ranged from building mosques. constructing educational institutions, attitudes of respect and patronage for learned divines to systematic inculcation of the virtues, norms and observances of Islam.

The Rishis' inspiration, on the other hand, was almost wholly popular. They preached love of mankind. and did not concern themselves with Islamic missionary activities of the establishment of madrasas, and kept themselves aloof from the ruling classes. In fact, whether consciously or unconsciou sly, they stressed values associated with the liberal and generous attitudes of Rumi. They added elements such as the mortification of the individual soul and hard ascetic exercises borrowed from the Yogis, coupled with harted of wordly life. They did not claim any Sufic ancestry and did not hesitate to borrow the ideas and practices of the Hindu ascetics, especially those of the Saivites of Kashmir, with their emphasis on individual salvation and indifference to the fact of others.

The mystical ideas represented in the sayings and practices of the Rishis make a significant study. From the whole mass of their sayings and practices emanate notions that are characteristically familiar ones in the corresponding local framework. There is a clear attempt by the Rishis to introduce locally known mystical techniques and formulas.

CHAPTER 7

From Burzahom to Solomon's Throne

Mohammad Amin Pandit

Kashmir has the unique distinction of possessing a continually recorded history of modern, medieval and ancient time. More and more, light has been and is continuously being thrown on many aspects of the beginnings of land life in Kashmir.

South-Western Kashmir is the region most suited for the study of quatermary glaciation. A major part of the Kashmir (Himalayan) Pleistocene history is bound up with the sub-glacial lake, called the Karewa lake. The formation of this lake is said to be associated with the uplift of the Pir Panjal mountains. It temporarily looked up the Jhelum water flooding the main Kashmir Valley, which ultimately is said to have made up its way through a gorge near Baramulla, where the Jhelum takes a turn, as seen even today (Kashmiris refer to Jhelum as Veth; Bernair spelt it as Bhit; Hindu historians refer it as Vitasta). Here then began the process of drying out the huge lake and the Valley, though mostly swampy, till it become fit for human habitation, mostly on the lower *Karewa* lake beds. These lake beds are undulain by gravels and fans of an earlier glacial period. Besides shells, fishes, and birds, portions of the tusk and other parts of skelton of *Elephes Hysudrics* have been found in the strata.[1]

From the earliest human settlement at the *Karewa* of Burzahom, 5 Kms. north-west of famous Moghul garden of Shalimar to the erection of a temple of solid of rock and stone without using any mortar or binding material to various courses together is a long story worthy of research and detailed study. The long cherished history in between Burzahom and Takht-i-Sulaiman is intercepted by the rise of the great religion-Buddhism, ruins whereof are still extant in Harcharndrun near Harwan.

The late Dr. K. M. Ashraf would usually speak of the rich and great cultural heritage which is embedded and burried in the soil of Kashmir. Dig a few feet deep in Kashmir and you shall find traces of wealth of glorious past history of an ancient Kashmiris, he would say and rightly so. Excavations at Burzahom and Harwan have amply proved this assertion.

From ancient times, Kashmir has been a meeting ground of many a culture. The Valley was peopled by Nagas, Pisachas, and Yakshas in the beginning. Then came the Aryans, the Huns, the Jews and the Kushans. The Kashmiris became the followers of aboriginal beliefs, Mahayanist school of thought and the Shiva philosophy from time to time and thus went on changing their beliefs in order to enrich their culture, with the result that our present day culture is Jewish, Buddhist, Shaivist and Islamic at the same time.[2]

Thanks to Mr. De Terra of the Yale Cambridge University who in 1925 A.D. spotted megalethic stone-slabs at the *Karewa* of Burzahom followed it with the first excavations at site ten years later and thanks also to Pandit Ram Chandra Kak who guided the excavations at the Buddhist site in Harichandrun (Harwan), we are now in a better position to know about our fore fathers of the Valley. Burzahom pits and Harwan ruins have opened a new chapter in the history of Kashmir. Kashmir was a lake, no doubt. This is enshrined in our tradition. But now it has been substantiated by locustrins deposits found on some of our *Karewas*. Burzahom is one of the Karewas, 24 Kms North-East of Srinagar near the foothills of Mount Mahadev. Hardly two Kms. away from the shores of Dal Lake near Telbal, the *Karewa* of Burzahom commands the finest panoramic view of Srinagar Valley and distant Pir Panjal range of mountains in South-West Kashmir. Bone-tools human skeltons laid alongside the domesticated dogs, bones of wild animals like *Barasingha* ibex etc. painted pots, ash, birch-bark and slate-slabs with floral, geometrical, human and animal designs have been found in the excavated dwelling pits of these early settlers in Kashmir. This speaks of the fishing and hunting society free from cares and troubles that existed in Kashmir about 5,000 years ago.

Even in the modern age when one visits places like Burzahom, Danihom, Draphom, Har-wan, Wan-porall villages nestled in the forests in the foothills of Har-wan ('Wan' in Kashmiri stands for forest), one forgets the Shackles of time and space. No wonder that hardly 70 years ago when Lord Minto then Viceroy of India, visited Dacchigom where he was entertained by the then Maharaja of Kashmir, the event was narrated by Sir. Francis Younghusband in the following colourful words :—

> "And well do I remember the
> intense relief of the Viceroy
> as he turned into the Valley
> and left all ceremonials and
> state business behind,
> and felt that here at least
> he was in a haven of rest
> and natural enjoyment. The
> air was clear and bracing,
> the sky cloudless and the
> evening sun throwing long
> soothing shadows up the Valley.
> Who could feel or care while
> he fished or hunted stag
> in a Valley with more than the
> beauty and with all the freshness
> of this native land."[3]

Could the early settlers in Kashmir have felt it differently? They inhabited the (foothills) of the Harwan forests and the shores of the Dal Lake on plateaus and Karewas like Burzahom obviously because these provided them with a rich potential for their subsistence. The tiles excavated depict the cro-Magnon or the late Paleolithic art probably as old as 8,000 to 10,000 B. C.[4] However the plea that these pit dwellers know the art of weaving or producing fabrics has been forcefully refuted to recently.[5]

As stated earlier the original inhabitants of Kashmir were Pisachas, Nagas and Aryans. We also know that Aryans soon came to live together with Nagas in peace and amity. A spirit

of accomodation and an atmosphere of tolerance prevailed, so much so that Aryans paid homages to Naga deities and offering were made to Pisachas. This spirit was re-inforced when the Valley came under the sway of great Buddhist emperor Ashoka. He did not permit any interference with the local faith which was a form of Shaivism. Ashoka, a devout Buddhist, erected a large number of stupas and caityas. He got also built some Shiva shrines and repaired others. The two faiths thus started a career of fruitful co-existence.

Next in first century A. D. came another great and renowned King in Kashmir, Kanishka, the Indo-scythian ruler. He was of Turkish descent and was part of that wave of scythian immigration which for two or three hundred years came pouring down from Central Asia. Kanishka is famous throughout the Buddhist World as the pious Buddhist King, who held in Kashmir the famous Fourth Great Buddhist Council which framed the New Law for followers of Buddhist faith. The site of this Great Conference alongwith ruins of huge monastries and Hall are still traceable at Harwan, locally known as Harichandrun. This hilly slope nestling under the higher mountains at the entrance of one of the attractive side valleys of Kashmir, and overlooking the placid waters of the Dal Lake. A famous Buddhisattva, Nagarjuna lived here excerecising a spiritual leadership over the land. Nagarjun's name is connected with Kanishka, one of Kushan rulers. Having been turned out of the Kansu province in China, the Yu-echi tribes fled towards Afganistan, Gandhara and Kashmir in about 177 B. C. and came to be known as Kushans.

Hushka, Juskha and Kanishka are said to have been entrusted as per persian chroniclers, with the rulership of Kashmir by Solomon, prophet and monarch, who had flown to the Valley to remove hinderances in the normal flow of the river Jhelum near Baramulla, Coins of Hushka and Kanishka have been found in the name of Buddha.[6]

Buddhist attitude of tolerance and respect towards the indigenous faith produced inevitable reaction in the followers of

latter. After the decline of Kushans, whose traditional mode of worship regained ascendency, the Buddha was acorded a place of honour in the Hindu Pantheon, long before this was done in other parts of India.

Vaisakhapoornima (Full-moon day in April-May) was duly celebrated with the worship of Buddha's images in Caityas and temples and with gifts of food, clothes, books and cows etc. to the Buddhist monks. The festival was marked by singing and dances by people of both the faiths.[7]

Lalitaditya (724-760 A.D.), the great Kashmiri who ruled vast areas from Bengal to Central Asia built Buddhist Vihars. He appointed a Buddhist Chief Minister, Chaitna, who hailed from Turkistan.

Buddhism was, in fact, at the zenith of its power in Kash-mir. But a reaction against it was soon to follow and from this time onwards, the orthodox Brahministic Hinduism, from which Buddhism was a revolt, reasserted itself and Buddhism steadily waned. When the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang visited Kashmir about 631 A.D., he said, "This Kingdom is not much given to faith, and the temples of the heretics are their sole thought." This amply speaks of the ruins of Buddhist Viharas at Harwan.

The Sankaracharya temple was built on a Buddhist shrine called Pas-Pahar. The temple was originally built by Gopaditya (368-308 B.C.). Later it was repaired by Lalitaditya (701-737 A.D.). Sultan Sikandar of Kashmir, described by some histo-rians as Buttshikan (the idol-breaker) left the temple unders-troyed. Budshah Zainuladin (1420-1470 A.D.) repaired in 1469 A.D. its roof which had tumbled during an earthquake. Budshah (the great king) penalised killing of cow, abstained from liquor, did not eat meat in Ramazn, forbade killing of birds, and fish in several springs, sacred to Hindus, He had several non-muslim courtiers ; one of them a Buddhist. He got Sanskrit works including Rajatarangni translated into Persian.It has been claimed by Persian historians that a mosque had been establish-ed at Takht-i-Sulaiman here in later period and that four of its sculptured stone-pillars contained verses in Arabic script.

Hassan, the great Persian historian of Kashmir has stated on the authority of earlier Persian scholars that Sandiman (identified as King-Prophet Sulaiman) visited Kashmir in 480 Kalyug (220 B.C.), and that he originally built a temple or prayer-house at the top of Takht-i-Sulaiman, then named as Zeistishur.

Another historian, belonging to the Moghal period, speaks of the traditional belief that once the prophet Hazrat-i-Sulaiman, flew by his flying carpet to this hill where he rested for a while and the same was the conscreated with the names of prophet and come to be known as Takht-i-Sulaiman.[9] The hill was latter named as Koh-i-Shankaracharaj after the great philosopher who is said to have visited and temporarily stayed in Kashmir.

Zafar Khan Ashan, a former governor-poet of Kashmir has sung in praise of Takht-i-Sulaiman in these words.

نہی چوں پائے بر تخت سلیمان
شود کشمیر شہر او نمایاں

(The moment one sets his foot on Takhit-i-Sulaiman whole of the city of Kashmir opens itself to one's eye).

The temple, known as Shankaracharya Mandir, is a huge structure built of solid blocks of stone, basement whereof is octagonal in shape and is 20 ft. high, enshrined wherein is a lingam 3 feet into 9 feet in dimensions, of polished black stone. The temple is about 1000 feet above the plains of Srinagar City and therefore commands the grandest view of the City and its environs. This is the area proper which has in the past been termed as Kasheer or later termed as Kashmir by Persian chroniclers. and from atop this hillock one can truly exclaim.

اگر فردوس بر روئے زمین است
ہمیں است و ہمیں است و ہمیں است

This. in fact, is the Paradise on Earth which has been referred to by French traveller, Bernair as Bagh-i-Sulaiman.[10]

Four ancient Hindu temples of Srinagar are well known. These are :—

(i) Zaishtshur—Shankaracharaya temple

(ii) Sharika Devi—temple at Haari Parbat (Koh-i-Marun-the hillock of Serpents or Nagas).

(iii) Lokishur—Site now occupied by the Budshah Tomb, wherein is burried the mother of King Zain-ul-abdin.

(iv) Kalishur—On the banks of Vitasta near Khanqah-i-Muala.

No wonder that because of its connections with Sandiman (or Solomon) and Gopaditya, the area lying in the foot-hills of Zabarwan upto the foothills of Harwan forests is called by various sacrosanct names such as Gopiteerath, Zaishtadhar, Guptaganga (also spelt as Guft-Ganga in Persian), Ishbur etc. The spring emerging from a depression near Pari Mahal is known as Zeithyar, where a Shiva temple has come up which is frequently visited by devout Hindus on Thursdays. No wonder, either, that the greatest living Shaivist philosopher of the present age : Lakhman Joo Maharaj has choosen Ishbur (RanvirMahesh Mandir) as the place for his stay and meditation.

From Takht-i-Sulaiman to Burzahom is hardly a distance of about 15 Kms, but this small slopy grounds and the holy springs (more than two dozens in number) on the foothills around Dal Lake have for thousands of years been the favourite places for seers, sages and mystics to meditate and attempt self-realisation.

The slopy mountanious strip from Takht-i-Sulaiman (Theed) to Burzahom (Harwan) is situated on the Western side of the Zabarwan range and hence receives sunlight at a comparatively later hours of the morning. The parton-saint of Kashmir,

Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Wali (Nund Reshi) is said to have deservedly spoken of this belt in this verse :

تھید ایشہ برئ گاش پیئ نوئ گرئ
تیوت کال نوش کوئر فاقہ ما مرئ

(In Theed-Ishbur, sun shall shine hours late than in other parts of the Valley ; Will not, till then. the daughter-in-law die of starvation ?)

This, however, is compensated by the Superb and Supernatural view of sunset as seen in Gopiteerath or many other parts of Theed-Ishbur area which attracted the eye of Moghal architects, who laid out the best of their gardens including Nishat, Shalimar and Cheshmashahi as also the observatory of Pari Mahal in this foothill area. Of this, obviously, did Poet Iqbal sang :—

کوہ و دریا و غروب آفتاب
من خدا را دیدم آنجا بے حجاب

The late-sunrise in Theed-Isbur is more than compensated with the omnipresent blissful view of the spiritual shrines of Hazrat Sultan-ul-Aarfeen Sheikh Hamza Makhdoon on Haari Parbat and the Sanctons Sanctorium of Assar-i-Shariff Hazratbal, the Medinatul Saani, Consecrated on account of the enshrinement of the sacred relic of the Holy Prophet who brought the final message of peace and tranquility in this Universe.

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CHAPTER 8

Kalhana and his Rajatarangini

Dr. (Mrs.) Madhvi Yasin

INDIAN architecture, sculpture, cave-temples and paintings, in most cases, do not reveal the names of their authors. The peculiar trait of self-abnegation is specially characteristic of Ancient India. This is also noticed in the case of some of the literary and historical works. In the case of Rajatarangini. "The River of Kings", we at least know the name of the author, but, here again, the whole ancestry and the life of the author is hidden in oblivion. Kalhana shares the common fate of the Indian anthors of note whose memory lives solely in their works. The introductory note attached to the end of each book of Rajatarangini, gives the name of the author as 'Kalhana', 'the son of the great Kashmiri minister', "the illustrious Lord Canpaka". Historical deductions reveal that he was a Brahmin by caste. The Sanskrit style of Rajatarangini is similar to that of the accepted style of the Pandits of Brahmin descent. The introduction to each book of his chronicle is begun by prayers of Shiva in his from of *Ardhanarishwar* representing the God in union with Parvati. Besides, Jonaraja the continuator author of Rajatarangini, has referred Kalhana with the epithet "dvija". A study of his chronicle displays his friendly attitude towards Buddhism. His faith may be epitomised in one word "electicism".

The name Kalhana was derived through the Prakrit "Kalhan" from the Sanskrit word "Kalyana", meaning "blessed".

Kalhana wrote his work during the years 1148-1149. The style and the spirit of the work shows that the author must have attained a mature age. The elaborate description of the unsteady conditions of Sussal's reign (A. D. 1112-20) makes

it clear that he must have been of age at that time. Hence, his probable date of birth might have been the beginning of the twelfth century.

The century of the birth of Kalhana was marked, in the history of Kashmir, by a dynastic upheaval resulting in many important political changes. King Harsha (A. D. 1089-1101) seemed at first to give Kashmir a period of good government but he fell victim to his own lavishness and extravagance. After his murder, Kashmir for seven years more, witnessed civil wars which brought death and destruction in its train.

Kalhana was gifted with scientific approach and a critical temperament. His portrayal of the various classes of Kashmiri people is very graphic and true to life. The reaction of the common folk to the disturbed political conditions of the time, is full of realistic touches. He says that the people were "callously prepared to welcome any change". His description of the idle and indifferent city crowds and their feelings, shows that he throughly understood the nature of his countrymen.

The unsettled political conditions of the time negatived all chances of patronage to the creative works of art; hence Rajatarangini was not written under the patronage of any King. Kalhana had a high sense of his responsibilities. He considers only historians "Worthy of praise, whose word, like that of a judge, keeps free from love or hatred in relating the facts of the past...and surpasses even the stream of nectar,...and can place the past times before the eyes of men".

It is interesting to note that Kalhana prepared himself for the role of a poet. The Sanskrit classical poetry cultivated by Kalhana reveals that he had an intensive training in the Indian rhetoric, *Alamkars' astra*, and the equal mastery of sanskrit grammatical lore. His literary studies were deep and comprehensive. All the known literature of his time, beginning from Epics to Kalidas's works *Raghuvainsha* and *Meghduta* and Bilhan's *Vikramankadevacharita* and *Harshcharita*, were read by him. Stein says : "His literary training indeed, had been of the strictly traditional type and the manner in which

he employed it shows no conscious departure from the conventional norm. Yet it is clear that Kalhan was not man of schools, absorbed in his Shastras".

Kalhana scrupulously studied the original sources including inscriptions of various kinds before he started writing, the Rajatarangini. He also studied coins and inspected buildings.

Kalhana found all possible avenues to his hereditary career closed on account of unsettled political conditions of the country. So the best way to employ his talents, he thought, was to write down the history of his country from ancient down to his time. He was also inspired by original patriotism. By painting a glorious picture of the past he wished that his countrymen should shed the inferiority complex, feel proud and try to emulate their past traditions. Therefore, the Great Asoka, he shows, was the kind of king whose examples were to be followed. It is Kalhana's sheer patriotism when he says : "Kashmir may be conquered by the force of spiritual merits, but not by the force of soldiers".

Kalhana has honestly and impartially related the events. While recording the contemporary happenings Kalhana has presented the principal figures in their individual character and not as types. Here he represents a contrast to Bana and Bilhana in treating historical personages, who have painted their heroes all white and enemies all black.

Rajatarangini is a class by itself in Indian literature. It is very much different from *Charitas*, which were composed under royal patronage. The scholar-pets of *Charitas* had the rare gift of inventing fables and myths and applying their talent in glorifying the achievements of their patrons. Their works are masterpieces of literature dabbling in subtle poetic art, rhetorical embellishment, and *alamkarshastra*. Rajatarangini, on the other hand, is the work of a detached and impartial mind, viewing the past and presents with historical acumen and not in a spirit of hero worship or pleasing patron. Rajatarangini not only forms a class by itself in Sanskrit compositions but has a striking resemblance in character to the chronicles of medieval Europe and of the Islamic East.

While writing the first three Books (chapters) of Rajatarangini Kalhana made full use of tradition whether written or oral, and the chronicles which were evidently based on such traditions. In writing down these traditions, at times, the critic in Kalhana comes out. For instance, he mentions three traditions of the death of the King Lalitaditya, without stating what is true, and comments; "When the great meet their end there arise—stories indicative of their uncommon grandeur." King Meghavahan's exploits have been described in scuh a fanciful manner, that Kalhana himself is apprehensive that they might not be accepted as true but he tries to justify them by comparing them with the cruelties of Harsha, which, in their turn, might not be believed, but for them there were eyewitnesses.

For the last two chapters of his book Kalhana's main sources were his contemporaries, his father, fellow-countryman and his own memory. Thus many incidents of the treachery of Bhiksacara's troops, he categorically writes, were witnessed by him. It is no surpirse that much of the history of the previous two generations, he got from his father and father's friends, who held key-posts in the politics of their times.

To give the details, Rajatarangini consists of eight books (Chapters) of unequal size, written in Sanskrit in nearly 8,000 verses of rare literary merit. The text may roughly be divided into three sections :—

1. Book I-III, are based on traditions.

2. In Books IV-VI, dealing with Karakota and Utpala dynasties, he has made use of the works of earlier chronicles who were contemporaries or near contemporaries of the events they described.

3. For books VII-VIII, dealing with the two Lohara dynasties he made use of personal knowledge and eyewitness accounts, the latter often perhaps received at second or third hand.

The style of Rajatarangini is not crude or difficult. These are scattered verses adorned in flowery language or donned in fanciful imagery, of country sanskrit. Kalhana's idea was that even a historical text must be a work of art and has tried to make his work attractive to readers. His accounts are graphic and vivid except in his last two books, where so many characters are introduced without proper introduction. Kalhana who had maintained strict adherence to chronology from the beginning of the book most religiously, had, in the second and third sections not followed it to the letter.

Evidently he was writing his book for those, who were familiar with the events of the period.

Kalhana in writing Rajatarangini set a tradition for history writing. His book, after him, was continued by four successive historians from the point where he left, to some years after Kashmir's annexation by the Mughal Emperor, Akbar.

The mission of a historian, according to Kalhana, is to make vivid before one's eyes pictures of a bygone age. History has a unique gift of immortalizing personages and events, and in this it even surpasses the mythical ambrosis, while the latter immortalizes only the man who drinks it, the former all those whom it touches. Kalhana was aware that his work would not only achieve permanence, but would enliven all the actors as himself. He had another object also in view. He says "This saga, which is properly made up, should be useful for Kings as a stimulant or a sedative, like a physic, according to time and place". Kalhana expected that both good and bad Kings would derive profit from his work. He is a staunch advocate of historical impartiality.

Kalhana's assessment of more recent happenings, is fair. He paints no character wholly black or white. He had deep insight in man's nature and his psychology. He says: "As in heaven the little clouds change shape, and take on the form of elephants leopards, monsters, serpents, horses and other beasts-so do the waves of feeling change in the hearts of mortals, from kindness to harshness as the moments vary."

The didactic feature of Rajatarangini may be traced to the selections *Santa rasa* i.e. sentiment of resignationni. Here Kalhana's avowed motive is to show that material prosperity and royal possessions are objects of transitory glory. The evil acts of man racoil on him by the strong hands of destiny. In the same way acts of policy, statecraft and individual conduct are again and again praised and analysed in the light of *Dharma* or *Nitishastra*.

Rajatarangini appears to wage a war in favour of benevolent despotism and deprecates feudalism. Believing in orthodox *Rajniti* (State Craft), he had his own conception of good government 'Explicitly or implicitly Rajatarangini carries the idea that a strong King is the ideal King, who has firm control over unruly elements, but is benevolent towards his people and sympathetic to their wishes. He chooses his ministers with discretion, and listens to their counsels with respect. Kalhana has shown his unflinching disapproval of Damars, the petty feudal chiefs, who were the cause of anarchy and confusion in Kashmir since the death of Harsha. Another motive, perhaps, in writing Rajatarangini was that of inspiring the Kings of Kashmir with their ancient glory and prowess, and to curb the unruly elements, who aimed at making the king weak. He says "The crab kills its father, and the white ant destroys its mother, but the ungrateful Kayasthas, when they become powerful, destroy every thing". At times Kalhana becomes pessimistic. The words put in the mouth of Harsha symbolises it : "This land, after having been a virtuous woman, has fallen like a prostitute in the arms of insolent. Henceforth, whoever knows how to succeed by mere intrigue will aspire to that Kingdom, whose power has gone". Here the historian shows his prophetic vision. He is no more simply a poet or a scholar.

Rajatarangini is a saga showing the force of Karma. Whatever good or bad a man does in this life, Kalhana believes, reaps the harvest for that in the life to come. Often the force of Karma shapes events and provides the basic moral sanction.

Fate, according to Kalhana, is the second force (influencing) the human destiny. Fate is sometimes used as a synonym for God. God or the gods often influence human affairs. Sometimes adverse fate is overcome by those who trust in their arms. Here also Rajatarangini gives another hopeful message to his countrymen that whatever fate or creator might have in store for them, only a strong king confident of his powers could save Kashmir.

Rajatarangini interlinks the *Karma* of the Kings with that of his subjects. Good kings arise through the merits of their subjects. A king and his subjects could mould the orders of the nature.

This great work has also some shortcomings. The sources used by him, were not critically analysed and discussed. His narrative becomes more legendary and anecdotal in middle of the ninth century, when one seems to reach contemporary records. "Of the defects of the records and the conflicting opinions which according to Kalhana's introduction rendered his task difficult, we nowhere receive a distinct indication." Fabulous stories, manifest impossibilities, exaggerations and superstitious beliefs, have been described as historical truths, which betrays his credulity. He has not separated historic legends from history. Similarly, Kalhana's chronology is also not based on scientific data. Of course, one cannot expect critical judgement in matters of chronology from an author who has started dating history from a legendary date of the coronation of Yudhisthir from epics, and attributes three hundred years to a single ruler, Ranaditya. Kalhana could not and should not be blamed for this, as it was general trend among the Indians, so precisely described by Alberuni. "Unfortunately the Hindus do not pay much attention to the historical order of things, they are very careless in relating to chronological succession of their Kings, and when they are pressed for information, and are at a loss, not knowing what to say they invariably take to tale-telling".

Rajatarangini also presents a contrast within itself-its earlier part is more of a fiction, and later part, that is early

medieval part, is real history. It vividly describes the falling glory of Kashmir,—palace intrigues, murders, sedition, civil wars and treachery. The life of the ordinary common folk has not been touched. It is the history of Kings, royal families, and nobility, justifying the title "River of the Kings".

CHAPTER 9

Hindu Historians and Muslim Kashmir

Prof. K. N. Dhar

The History of Muslim period in Kashmir is as intriguing as it is revealing. Though a sizable number of chronicles both indigenous and foreign, contemporary as well as remote is available for this phase of Kashmir History, yet the conclusions arrived at and the facts enumerated are in no way immaculately objective. These historians barring a few have grafted their personal dimensions into these. Unfortunately for this epoch, the chroniclers have not been able to extricate themselves from cocoony meshes of personal likes and dislikes. Their subjective involvement has gone a long way in tarnishing the inherent image of this period in Kashmir History.

Moreover, modern scholars[1] have not also been able to provide a dispassionate account of this period in as much as their knowledge of Persian or Sanskrit in which the chronicles of this period are couched is either scanty or next to nothing. They have usually depended upon the defective translations, more so in the case of Sanskrit chronicles thereby mutilating the exact import of the events and also drawing wrong and misleading inferences. Even Dr. G.M.D. Sufi author of the monumental work entitled "KASHIR" has also suffered from this lapse. Therefore, the edge this particular period had over earlier periods of Kashmir History in terms of contemporary evidence seems to have been blunted.

This period in Kashmir history only confirms the age long truth that the transitional ferment tides rough shod over the

society when it is turning a new leaf. Old norms and attitudes melt away before the effulgent enthusiam of the new order. It can never be smooth sailing on either side. In the Hindu period as depicted by Kalhana whenever a change in rule was necessitated by the force of circumstances, it was definitely attended with scourge and death for the values the earlier kings had nursed. Even the vestiges smacking of the old were done away with. The 'new' was enthroned only on the ashes of the 'old'. Therefore, it should not seem surprising and all the same denigrading that the Muslim rulers got engaged in the crusade of annihilating the old and installing their way of life with unrelenting gusto and fervour. The Muslim monarchs were only repeating the course of history of the earlier periods in KASHMIR. There were such emancipated Kings like Praversena, Lalitaditya, Avantiverman etc. but the majority of the rulers could not rise above their narrow parochial loyalties. The same trend is discernible in the Muslim period in Kashmir history, it is nothing horrifying or at the same time disheartening. When the dust of this tumult settled, when the rivalries between the two great universal religions ceased, Muslim period also brought out of its womb benevolent Kings like Budshah and Shahabud Din. Therefore, it does not seem justifiable or fair to dub this period as Nihilistic or iconcolastic.[2] More recently when in the wake of Indian Independence, the political map of our country was re-drawn, the Rajas and Nawabs being dubbed as the representative of a dying order were compelled to join the national stream by persuation, guile or force.[3] Their states underwent a transformation beyond recognition. This kind of friction between the old and the new is a natural phenomenon and sparks coming out of this should not scare us into building a fallacious or deluding premise. History as such is a faithful representation coupled with detatched interpretation of events. It is neither propaganda nor useless kite-flying for imposing one's own thinking on others.[4] It is also not a veritable substitute for regimentation or indoctrination. After going through the chronicles of this period, it can be easily conceded that the Muslim Sultans did not find any time to cool their heels and

consequently engage themselves in ushering in a happy compromise between the dying old and the present coming to birth. The vulturous scramble for regal prowess was so intense that the brother was after the blood of brother and son weaving plots to overthrow his parent. In this pernicious climate of internecine feuds, the Sultan was always expected to look around with fingers crossed, his maximum concern being his personal safety. Therefore, to expect a fair deal for his subjects and society at large is a misnomer here. They at best could only invoke Islamic Brotherhood to keep their authority in tact. As a corollary to this, they were also obijged to fend to the religious propensities of their subjects—neo converts of course to make themselves secure on the throne. It was essentially a political strategy and had nothing to do with their actual approach to life. Whenever such mist of distrust and infidility has cleared for a brief spell, the Muslim Sultans have done yeoman's service to their subjects.

In this context and fortunately for the posterity, the Sanskrit chroniclers have tried to keep themselves at an arm's length from the emotional involvement-the bane of this period. They have striven hard to sit on the fence and relate the events in more or less dispassionate manner. Perhaps it goes definitely to their credit that they could maintain the balance between head and heart in those hectic days when the links with the past were being broken with venomous alacrity. These historians had every reason to get derailed into jigsaw fallacies in as much as, they definitely were the chips of the old block which was being derided under their very nose. To speak squarely, these master-minds wore their profession on their sleeves.

Muslim rule in Kashmir has been narrated by four Sanskrit luminaries, firstly by Jona Raja, secondly Shrivara who took the thread from him when he was cut short by death and could not complete his assignment. Thirdly by Prajya Bhatta whose original chronicle is lost, but has been condensed by Sukha in the introductory portion of his Rajatarangini to make it a continuous whole. So this gap has been ably retrieved by

the fourth chronicler, Shuka, and the loss has been thus repaired.

Jonaraja at the very commencemeni of his *Rajatarangini* acknowledges the debt he ows to Kalhana, the doyen of chroniclers of Kashmir. He treats him as his ideal and his reputed dictum in respect of history-writing as his guide-line, for supplementing suitably the course of events where Kalhana had left it.[5] Kalhana has very aptly remarked :—

> "That noble-minded (poet) is alone worthy of praise whose word like that of Judge, keeps free from love or hatred in relating the facts of the past.[6]"

Jona Raja has faithfully striven to live upto this maxim. There are some omissions and commissions here and there,[7] yet by far this most illustrious Sanskrit historian of the Muslim period being first in the line is also the best by any standards whatsoever.

In those insecure times the safety of the chronicles was the prime cocern as also the fear of interpolations cannot be ruled out. Before we proceed to examine critically the narrative of Jona Raja, it will again be useful to allude to erroneous inferencces of modern scholars on this subject. Dr. Parmu has remarked "His (Jona Raja's) besetting defect is that he generally puts the poet above the chronicler"[8] Herein again the learned scholar has innocently betrayed his ignorance regarding Sanskrit language and literature. Actually the reverse of it is true which is a compliment to Jona Raja. Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* is classed under historical poetry in the Sanskrit literature. No such honour has been bestowed on Jona Raja's *Rajatarangini*. It is at places versified prose, to borrow the epithet from Dr. Buhler[9]. In this respect Dr. R. N. Singh, has to say 'Jona Raja after recording an event proceeds further, he even skips over the chain of events at the slightest possible hint. He does not stay behind to explain it, but transfers this burden to the reader"[10]. Further on, the learned scholar has remarked, "Tarangini of Jona Raja is history. It is neither a biography nor an eulogy".

Without mincing words, Jona Raja confesses that his chronicle is merely an "outline of History of Kings"[12]. He does not make tall claims for elaborating the events or sitting on judgement on these. Moreover, he very candidly owns that he was commissioned to write his chronicle by Sultan zain-ul-abdin, through the good offices of Shirya Bhatt, the Head of Judiciary[13]. Theerefore, it may be contended that he being a professional chronicler and also in the pay of the Sultan, his account might have tilted in favour of his benefactor. Prof. Mohibul Hassan does refer to this seemingly believeable handicap by saying. "Being a courtier of Zain-ul-abdin, Jona Raja is inclined to exagerate the virtue of his master and gloss over his failing"[14]. On careful scrutiny of the account given by Jona Raja about Budshah and his father Sikandar he has safely steered clear of personal inclinations.

All told Jona Raja has given an account of twenty three rulers of Kashmir. Out of these thirteen are Hindus,[18] one Buddhist and nine Muslims. This account covers a span of 459 years. He has also been the contemporary of Sikandar and Zain-ul-abdin by virtue of which his description about these two kings is not only lucid but also authentic. The general impression gleaned from the account of the Hindu kings is that their hold on the reigns of thier kingdom was tottering under the irresistible weight of court intrigues, corruption, avarice, lust and sex.[19] These failings were all the more crowned with physical and moral cowardice[20]. Therefore, occupation of Kashmir by the Muslim Sultans was a natural culmination of this choas and confusion. Degeneration of the highest order had already permeated the soul of Hindu society and the astute Muslim struck when the iron was hot. Hindu rulers had to blame only themselves for this catastrophe. Their levity did not even allow them to lick their wounds. Cultural conquest of the Hindus had already commenced when Islam had entered the valley a century or more, before the Muslim rule[21] was installed here. Jona Raja treats the reigns of these last Hindu kings in a cursory and brief manner. He has disposed off some Hindu kings in four or five verses[22]. The brevity he has employed can be assessed by the fact that the

desrcription of thirteen Hindu kings is dispensed within 174 verses out of a total 276 verses comprising his chrohtcle. Jona Raja has himself adduced the reasons for his lack of sympathy for these kings as alluded to earlier. The chief cause for this unconcern was that Jona Raja wanted to pick up the thread from where Kalhana had left it to induct continuity into his chronicle[23]. His main forte was the Muslim rule for which alone he was responsible to Sultan Zain-ul-abdin[24].

Jona Raja has described the Muslim rule at length and a span of 140 years is covered by him. He could not complete the assignment of the Sultan as he was probably cut short in life before he could do so. The eleven years of Budshah's reign have been commented upon by Shrivara—a professional heir to Jona Raja.

Jona Raja treats Shahmeer as the first Sultan of Kashmir. Herein he again exhibits his catholicity in changing Sultan to "Surtran"--The "Saviour of the Virtuous". Shahmeer ascended the throne of Kashmir under the name of Shamsud-Din and ruled for 3 years from 1339 to 1342. Prior to his snatching the throne by deceit and guile from Kota Rani, he was not only her chief adviser but also a paramour. After sharing the same bed for one night with Kota Rani, he got her murdered along with her sons. Shahmeer was not an indigenous Sultan but came perhaps from Persia as a refugee[26]. Prof Mohibul Hassan takes him to be a Turkish adventurer.[27] Even though Jona Raja prefixes the epithet Sultan with Renchan as the first Muslim ruler, but it was a very brief interlude and that also succeeded by the restoration of Hindu monarchy. The Muslim rule entrenched itself in Kashmir without any break whatsoever with the reign of Shahmeer. Hence he earns the right to be called the first Muslim ruler of Kashmir.

Jona Raja has not referred to the episode of Bulbul Shah who according to the Persian chroniclers converted Renchan to Islam. He only alludes to one Deva Swami who refused to admit Renchan into the Hindu fold.[28] Furthermore, Jona Raja asserts that it was the manoeuvering of Shahmeer who got Renchan initiated into Islam.

Prior to the establishment of Sultanate in Kashmir, Jona Raja has given us a graphic description of three invasions on Kashmir, one by "Dulcha" and the other by Renchan and the third by Achala. Dulcha, a Turk with a retinue of sixty thousand strong cavalary swooped on Kashmir "like a lion forcing its way into a deer den"[29].

The King "Kurushah" whom Jona Raja has taken as the grandfather of Shahmeer tried to buy Dulcha off with a very good amount of money; Dulcha whose sole intention was loot and carnage did accept the money but stayed back to unleash his cruelty over the Kashmiris.[30] Jona Raja has given a heart rending description of the invasion of Dulcha :-

> "Those Kashmiri people who had eluded detention after the Dulcha-cat took to heels, came out of their holes like the mice. When the scourge let loose by Dulcha did abate (when he was sent away) no son could find his father, nor father his son, and brother his brother".[31]

The second invasion was that of Renchan—a Buddhist who came down from northern mountains to loot and plunder Kashmir. Jona Raja has to say in this connection :-

> "A kite swoops on the birdling having dropped from its perch, in the same manner the invincible army of Renchan dispossessed of all belongings the Kashmiri folk".[32]

Renchan occupied the throne of Kashmir also in collaboration with Kota Rani. The third invader Achala was prevailed upon by Kota Rani not unleash his sword on the innocent people. He was invited to adorn the throne which was lying vacant as the King had fled to Ladakh. Achala was taken in, he disbanded his army. Once he did this, it was ver. easy to see him off. Consequently when Shahmeer came to the throne, he had a stupendous task of rehabilitation awaiting him. He acquitted himself very well in this field and proved a very competent administrator.[33] In the words of Jona Raja, "He changed the fate of Kashmiris".[34] Two salient facts come to surface while describing the ascendency

to power by Shahmeer. Jona Raja alludes to the oracle of the great goddess wherein she predicted to him in a dream that his progeny would rule Kashmir henceforth.[35] By putting this anecdote to pen Jona Raja seems to have reconciled mentally to the change of power in Kashmir and also adduced divine sanction for it. He has also called Shahmeer as Kula Natha,[36] the chief of the Muslim population in Kashmir, which could put its counter weight against the machinations of landed aristocrats such as Damaras (Dhars), professional fighters like Lavyanyas (Lones) and also Bhattas (the entire Brahmin faction). Perhaps that was the reason as to why Kota Rani took him into her service. This very influence with his co-religionists facilitated him to grab power without a single leaf fluttering in the valley. His seige of Anderkot (near Sumbal) proved as the last nail in the coffin of Hindu authority over Kashmir.

Shahmeer did not live long to consolidate the ravaged Kashmir. He breathed his last on the full moon day in Ashadha in 1342 A.D. after a brief reign of three years and five days.[37]

Jona Raja for reasons obvious has cursorily treated the reign of Sultan Jamsheed (1342-44) and that of Sultan Alla-ud-din (1344-56) sons and successors of Shahmeer. As he (Shahmeer) was an astute politician, he transferred the burden of the Sultanate on his these two sons jointly[38] so that they did not feel foul of each other afterwards. But these two brothers could not carry on with each other afterwards and the reign of Jamsheed for two years was only a tragic interlude of conspiracies and brotherly feuds. He was such a weakling that Jona Raja has apty used the words :"Being a King in name only, he actually suffered incessantly till he was relieved by death".[39] Herein we shall have to refer to observation made by Dr. Sufi, in which he has come to the conclusion that as soon as Jamsheed was crowned King, he was deposed by his brother Ali Sher (Alla-ud-din) and he spent these two years before his death rather in exile and penury[40]. Dr. Parimu has written that Jamsheed was killed in 1344[41] and Prof.

Mohibul Hassan[42] has suggested that "Jamsheed finding himself not strong enough to fight (against his brother) fled and after aimlessly wandering about in the valley for a year and two months, he died in 1345."

However, in this context the account given by Jona Raja does not confirm the views given by the learned authors above.[43] He unambiguously records that "Jamsheed put to sword so many followers of his conspiring brother Ali Sher at Avantipur, that the current of the Jhelum began to flow upwards by throwing the heaps of corpses into the river", He records further that Sultan Jamsheed made Sathya Raja (Shiraz) responsible (for the safety of the city of Srinagar and himself went for a trip to Hardwara. It has not at all been narrated by him (Jona Raja) that the Sultan was forcibly deposed and also killed. In the words of Jona Raja he died a natural death after being a Sultan for two years less by two months.

Jona Raja does allude to Jamsheed's holding the charge of 'Commissioner of Guards'[44] stationed at one of the mountain passes leading to Kashmir Valley. Perhaps this very reference of his becoming the 'Commissioner of Guards' had led these learned authors to do a bit of unfounded kite flying, while Jona Raja explicitly lays down that Sultan Jamsheed got fed up with wars when Ali Sher infiicted a decisive defeat on his son. Morever, Ali Sher broke the truce of two months's cease-fire offered initially by him.[45] These all factors prompted him to relinquish the royal authority voluntarily. and during the closing months of his life, he did accept an assignment much below his status being a nincompoop. Therefore, it is sufficiently clear that he was neither deposed nor killed.

Ali Sher, assuming the name of Alla-ud-din (1344-1355 AD) ascended the throne of Kashmir by guile, deceit and statecraft. Despite all these defects he was a master-mind in politics and a dauntless warrior.[46] Two greats events have been narrated by Jona Raja during his reign. The first being a direct

reference to a bevy of *Yoginis*[47] (females possessing magical power) whose leader has been identified as 'Lalleshwari'.[48] In the first instance in Kashmir tradition Lalla is not credited with having found any order of *Yoginis* at all. She lived by herself and also in her own thoughts. Therefore the use of the word *Chakra*[49] does not confirm the views given by the Persian scholars. It might also connotethe host of eight *Yoginis* attendants of Durga—Shiva's consort. The chief of *Yoginis* (Nayika) as narrated earlier may be construed to be a female Tantric worshipper, otherwise she would not have offered a 'goblet of wine' to Alla-ud-dih.[50] Subsequently Persian scholars have tried to replace 'wine' by milk[51] as it is firbidden by Islam. But Jona Raja has no such aberrations. Moreover *Lalla* is never associated with wine etc., in Kashmir like the left hand ritualists.[52] Therefore, to infer from *Yogini* the existance of *Lalla* in that period at least according to testimony of Jona Raja, is not only preposterous but also far-fetched.

However, the silence of Jona Raja about Lalleswari and Shah Hamdan should not erroneously lead us to believe that these two personages never existed in Kashmir and are only the figment of imagination. Kalhana has not at all referred to Abhinavagupta the reputed Shaiva scholar, though other such erudite scholars like Udbhatta, Rudratta, Vaman and Anandavardhan have been mentioned profusely by him. Yet Abhinavagupta did live in Kashmir on the basis of the testimoney of the colophons of his works in which he has indicated the year of composition of a particular treatise. He has bequeathed to us his own genealogy also[53] The force of tradition is always irresistible and cannot be dispensed with cheaply. What is actually desired to be conveyed here is through Jona Raja's chronicle as it is available to us, does not contain any such names of Shah Hamdan and Lalleshwari, yet their having breathed the air of Kashmir cannot be denied.

The second event of Alla-ud-din's reign is the terrible famine which eroded the economic fibre of the country ; but

Jona Raja does not write what remedial measures were taken by the Sultan to offset its unsalutary effect on the people. Some scholars have wrongly quoted Jona Raja and ascribed this compliment to Sultan by him. "But he did all he could to alleviate the sufferings of his subjects".[54] Actually Jona Raja dismisses this calamity in one verse.[55] He says, "That in the nineteenth year of the local calendar (i.e. 1343 A D.) a ghastly famine tormented the people as a reproof for their bad deeds." Just after it, he gives the date on which the Sultan breathed his last.

Again another scholar has indicated that Sultan Alla-ud-Din transferred his capital from Indrakot to Alla-ud-dinpora, a new city founded by the Sultan.[56] However, on perusal of the facts given in this behalf by Jona Raja, it has been unmistakably narrated by him that the Sultan re-established his capital at Jayapida Pur another name of Indrakot. The learned scholar has observed that the capital was shifted from Indrakot to Alla-ud-dinpur as alluded to earlier, but the actual facts are that Alla-ud-din shifted back his capital to Indrakot from Srinagar. Shahmeer, his father had made Indrakot as the first capital of Sultanate in Kashmir. He had sentimental attachment with it for being associated with Kota Rani. His unworthy son transferred the capital to Srinagar, but Alla-ud-din from the point of safety shifted his capital back to Indrakot.[57]

One redeeming feature during the reign of first four Sultans comes to full view. Even though the pace of proselytisation was gathering momentum every day, in and out, during this period of only three decades or more, yet the influence of Hindus at the royal court did not wane. These Hindus occupied the position of counsellors, advisers or ministers. Sultan Jamsheed confided in his counsellor Lakshmna Bhat.[58] Udayashri was probably the Prime Minister of Sultan Alla-ud-din[59] and Shandra Damar his commander-in-chief. In the company of both these, the Sultan had caught the glimpse of the *Yoginis* as referred to earlier. Similarly, Sultan Shahab-ud-din when away on military campaigns depended upon Kota Bhatt for internal administration of his Kingdom.[60]

Jona Raja is all praise for Sultan Shahab-ud-Din and compares him with Lalita Ditya—the famous warrior king of ancient Kashmir.[61]

In the wake of his illustrious fellow countrymen. Shahab-ud-din also undertook many military expeditions and even went as far as Peshawar and Ghazni.[62]

His appetite for expanding the borders of his country was unquenchable ([63]). It was also necessiated by the fact that the kingdom of his predecessors was shrinking by their incompetence. Several scholars have doubted the veracity of these campaigns and termed these as highly exaggerated[64]. Their scepticism is perhaps based on the misnomer that Kashmiris only knew how to defend and could never venture to indulge in offensive. On the testimony of Jona Raja this assumption is not only unjust but also unfounded. He (Jona Raja) has even narrated that the Kashmiri Sultan Sikandar was offered a gift of two elephants by Timur Lame. Timur who locted Delhi without compunction and called himself invincible could not have parted with his two elephants for the King of Kashmir for nothing in return. It was definitely the scare of the Kashmiri army, whom the Mongol scourage tried to pamper so that it did not attack his forces while returning.

Where diplomacy could not work the Kashmiris were behind none to defend their motherland by a call to steel[65]. Law and order in the country was firmly established, no conspiracies or schism polluted the placid atmosphere, hence the need for moving out for annexations was keenly felt by the Sultan. The political geography of Kashmir was now turning a new leaf. Therefore, the testimony of Jona Raja regarding the military conquests of Shahab-ud-din need not be taken with a grain of salt. Kashmiri armies have penetrated deep into Kishtwar, Bhotia Pradesh Lorin and Poonch. The military prowess of Kashmiris also did show itself off admirably well later when Mughals were repulsed not only once but twice. Jona Raja like an awake artist does presage "that prosperity might take this account of the superhuman exploits

of the Sultan as mere flattery"[66]. This leaves nothing for us to guess otherwise.

Shahab-ud-din was not a religious zealot. He was catholic to the marrow of his bones not by expedience but by conviction. When it was suggested to him that the huge idol of copper and bronze be smolten and coins made out of it as the Imperial mint was running short of these[67] he promptly declined to order this vandalism and said : "How paradoxical it will seem that I would like to amass fame by breaking these immortal idols which have been installed, and worshipped by certain people who have earned approbation (by doing this)."[68]

An unprecedented flood engulfed Srinagar in his reign when the surging waters even mounted the surrounding hills. The Sultan therefore, founded an alternative city on the foot of Sharika Shail and named it after his consort Lakshmi, as Lakshmi pur and not Sharika pur[69]. He also founded one more city on the confluence of Vitasta and Sindh after his own name as Shahab-ud-din pur (modern Shadipur)[70].

Unfortunately some Persian historians of this period have painted Shahab-ud-din as an iconoclast in their misplaced enthusiasm for the propagation of Islam[71]. Jona Raja has prophetically smelt this and has consequently warned the future generations :—"The King Shahab-ud-din had broken the idols of gods," this preposterous and unfounded statement should not in any way unnerve the posterity.[71] Jona Raja was born in 1389 and died in 1459 A D. Shahab-ud-din's span of reign ranges from 1354 to 1373 A.D., so it is abundantly clear that Jona Raja's account of Shahab-ud-din's rule is only 16 years anterior to him. In the face of such a brief interval between the death of Shahab-ud-din and the birth of Jona Raja his testimony can never be dismissed cheaply, while Persian chroniclers, Baharistan Shahi (1586-1614 A.D.), Haidar Malik's Tarikhi Kashmir (1618 A.D) and to crown all Peer Hassan's Tarikh-i-Kashmir (1885 A.D) cannot be depended upon for what they have recorded about Sultan Shahab-ud-din. Theirs is only hearsay or wishful thinking while Jona Raja from the point of historicity is more reliable.

To sum up, Jona Raja has every sort of admiration for this benevolvent Sultan of Kashmir, only Zainul-ab-din Badshah possesses a slight edge over him according to this Hindu historian. Qutub-ud-din (Kuda-din) succeeded his father Shahab-ud-din as the Sultan of Kashmir from 1373 to 1389. The Sultan had to undertake military campaigns against Raja of Lohara (Lorin) and the Khashas (Khokhi) inhabiting the South western belt of Pir Panchal range (Rajori) and also in Kishtwar[72]. He brought these erring vassals to book under the generalship of Lolak, the Damar. The Sultan also started a free *langer* for the people in view of the recurring famines every year in the valley[73] at a very huge cost. Through the blessing of one yogi, Bramha Natha he got the desired progeny. He had been without any son or daughter earlier[74].

He also founded a township within the city after his name as Qutub-ud-din pora. Modern scholars have identified it as the tract of land now known as Mohalla Haji Peer Mohd. Sahib.[75] However, there is a mohalla in Srinagar bearing this name even now. It is situated on the left bank of the Jhelum between Zainakadal and Ali Kadal, some distance below Gurgari Mohalla. I am led to believe that this mohalla had also to do something with the Sultan. Future research may unfold some relevent information regarding this.

Ali Shah after fruitless flirtatation with regal splendour decided to undertake a piligrimage to Mecca, and nominated his brother Shahi Khan (Zainul-ab-din) as his successor. But being prevailed upon by his father-in-law, the Hindu Raja of Jammu, he changed his mind and returned to Kashmir[76]. Shahi Khan did not resist his taking up the mantle of Sultan once again. Later he was killed in a battle with Khokhars[77], thus paving the unobstructed way for Shahi Khan to ascend the throne. These two incidents are perhaps sufficient to prove that inherent tenets of Muslim faith had not made any substantial headway in the Valley. This was only a political expediency. Sultan Ali Shah had married the two daughters of the Hindu Raja of Jammu, which is unIslamic, since a Muslim has been ordained to marry a non-Muslim only when

he or she is converted to Islam. It is enjoined in Islam that two real sisters cannot be wives to the same spouse concurrently. Moreover, once a resolution (*Kasad*) is made for undertaking Haj, it should not be revoked in any case. This very background facilitated Budshah to rehabilitate the Hindus, as the loyalty of the people to their faith was not skin-deep as yet. It may well be called a change of label from Hindu to Muslim. The Neo-converts were still finding their feet, their only hobby was to pay off old scores under the garb of religious crusades. Shahi Khan as a prince already had a foretaste of this, when the adjoining Hindu tribes and Neo-convert tribes of Thakurs and Khokhars had helped him to regain the throne from his brother.[77] Therefore on assumption of power he elected to own benevolence instead of violence. Sultan Sikandar and his evil-genius Suha Bhatt failed to cash on this policy of conciliation instead of confrontation, thereby mutilating their image in Kashmir history.

Jona Raja has very rightly referred to this change of heart in Budshah. Far-reaching and sweeping adjustments made in making the Hindus comfortable were the amends he (Sultan) was making for the sins of his predecessors.[78]

So much ink and thought has been spent in delineating the golden reign of Budshah, that it would seem redundant to repeat all this. However, some light needs to be thrown on two or three points which have been more or less glossed over by the authors.

This first point which deserves emphasis is that Zain-ul-ab-din was never under the influence of Hindus. He was a devout Muslim and would consult Shaikhul-Islam on every measure he would like to introduce.[79] Perhaps this is also the reason that *Shariat* as the state-religion could not be replaced. In accordance, with its dictates. *Jazia* also was not revoked entirely but fixed at a lower rate[80]. Zainul-ab-din could not dare to go totally against the current of public opinion built brick by brick by his forefathers so far as treatment towards Hindus was concerned. Fanatics did raise their eye-brows on

his attitude towards the Hindus, and for this very purpose, Syed Sad Ullah came from Mecca with a huge load of books[81]. He tried to cajole the Sultan into reversing this tolerant policy, but he did not oblige [82]. Budshah seems to be more awake than these zealots who would try to foist their faith on others not by persuation but through coercion. He therefore first of all called upon his own kinsmen to set their house in order[83]. Muslims had multiplied themselves into different sects, Shias, Sunnis, Sayeds, Sufis and were vying with each other to show the other sects down. Sultan could very well anticipate that once the object of their combined hatred for the Hindu was gone, they would fall out among themselves. Once such a nihilistic propensity is nurtured, it can express itself in any shape whatsoever. Therefore like a true Muslim he tried to consolidate the Muslim brotherhood and exhorted them to sink their differences and close their ranks. It would have done more harm than good to the spread of Islam. How prophetically Budshah hinted towards this can be easily corroborated by the subsequent Chak rule over Kashmir. Therefore, reinstallation of the irritent—the Hindu—did not only do good to him but also made the Muslim society cohesive and viable.

The second point which needs explanation here is the appointment of the Hindus to very responsible posts. The neo-converts thinking themselves dandies could not be expected to handle the intricate problems of state-craft. Moreover, they had been actually the scum of the Hindu population, hence their credentials for running the Government could not be depended upon. The state was in the doldrums owing to lack of foresight on the part of the predecesors of Budshah. Draught and flood in his reign made the state poorer all the more. In this predicament a hunt for Brahmin talent was made so that the state be entrusted to it to set the things in order. Moreover, the Hindu unbelievable elevated to such position after an interval of condemnation had perforce to appear more loyal than the king and would apply his heart and soul together in proving his capability. Thus state was again put on the rails and attained the speed which it had

squandered earlier. Tilakacharya Shriya Bhatta, Sinhabatta, Rubhba Bhatta, Karpura Bhatta Ramananda Gaurak Bhatta Jaya Bhatta and a host of such lumınaries administered the land of their birth with unparalalled devotion and to the best of their capacity. In this bargain Budshah made double gain. He became the champion of the underdog—the Hindu, and also gave his state a very good Government.

The third point regarding the renovation of the temples and grant of lands to the Hındus can also be explained in this manner. During the reign of earlier Sultans, moreso when Sikandar and Suhabatta in collusion with each other unleashed an era of unprecedented tyranny over Hindus, the Hindus were fleeing the country leaving behind the Jagirs attached to these temples fallow and desolate. The neo-convert only relished in bringing death, destruction and loot but never cared to attend to these vast Jagirs for getting produce out of these.

Budshah's scanning eye could very well locate the disease so he, not only pledged safety to the hiding Hindus, but even coaxed those who had left to return to their home land. Renovation of temples was executed under the supervision of Shriya Bhatta, which restored confidence into Hindu folk. Once again the lands attached to these were brought under plough and the food prospects of the country improved substantially.

Moreover in the wake of building a network of canals and water feeders, he rehablitated Hindus also [87] on the land thus reclaimed, with the purpose of replenishing the Government treasury by the revenue which these lands yielded. Whatever the inherent motive of Budshah regarding these steps it is laudable on his part to usher in liberalism despite the resentment of his Muslim subjects. He stood his ground firmly well and that is perhaps the indisputable reason which makes him tallest of all the Sultans in Kashmir. He possessed an unbending sinew and could never be swayed by passion. His reason thoroughly groomed, was not only precise but also perfect. When the neo-converts under instructions from Syed Sad Ullah who harboured a grudge against the Sultan as alluded

to earlier got arrowed to death a *Yogi*[88] who had blessed the Sultan with male issues, he at first sought the counsel of Shaikhul Islam who decreed that "eye for eye" treatment be meted out to him. But the Sultan did not like to act in haste and also alienate the sympathies of the Muslims. He introduced a novel method of punishing Sad Ullah by making him ride a donkey with his face towards its tail and with his beard singed off. The people were asked to spit at him wherever he was conducted in this plight, but he spared his life.[89] In other words, he extended immunity from death to Syeds also as was the practice regarding the Brahmins in earlier Hindu period. ([90]) Undoubtedly the Sultan resurrected the dying human values, nursed these with his sharp intellectual prowess and tried to sell these out to his co-religionists.([91]) Nature willed otherwise. When his reign like a flicker of a glow-worm in engulfing darkness came to an end, his successors could not appreciate the exact import of his emanicipated outlook, but reverted to wholesale repression on Hindus, that also with vengeance.

Jona Raja has given us an eye witness account of the first thirty nine years of the reign of this gracious Sultan. He concludes the account abruptly at verse 976 without adducing any reason for it. The account of penultimate eleven years of his rule has been narrated by Shrivara in his *Zaina-tarangini*.

This benevolent Sultan by commissioning Jona Raja to pen down his history has been instrumental in doing permanent good to the annals of Kashmir in those days. No contemporary Persian chronicler has come down to us in this respect. The earliest "Tarikhi-Kashmir" by Syed Ali (1579 AD) was written a century or more after Budshah. Therefore by getting the events recorded by contemporary Hindus, he not only provided an authentic base to these, but also bequethed to the future scholars enough material to build his personality, after exchang-ing the notes of Sanskrit and Persian histories. It will not be an exaggeration to say here that his period alone can take rightful pride in being authentic in Kashmir history. Jona Raja has performed his mission with honesty of purpose and dedication to his profession. His account of Budshah, though

incomplete, is not wanting in any thing. It is neither magnified nor played down. The subsequent Persian chroniclers without any exception have profusely drawn from him and then only built their respectively theses. Kashmiris owe a debt to Jona Raja for erecting the contours of a light-house of accurate historicity which reduces to nullity thankless pastime of groping in the dark.

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(2) Dr. Parmu, "A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir" Page 124-125

(3) CF. V.P. Menon. Integration of States.

(4) E. G. Dr. Sankaha Lia's views on the MAHABHARTA, or Shri Oak's observations about the Taj and other Mughal buildings.

(5) Jona Raja; Raja Tarangini, 5th verse.

(6) Raja Tarangini—1, 7 Translation Dr. Stein.

(7) Jona Raja has not referred to Syed Ali Hamdani or even to Lalleshwari by name (the mystic poetess).

(8) A history of Muslim Rule in Kashmir-page 5.

(9) Kashmir Report.

(10) Jona Raja—Raja Tarangini (Hindi) page 33. Translation by the writer of this paper.

(12) Ibid-page 35 (12) Verse 17. (13) Verse 11. (14) Kashmir under Sultans page 2.

(18) An inhabitant of Dardistan-Renchan. (19) Jona Raja—Raja Tarangini verse 68.73.

(20) Ibid—Verse 89-93.

(21) Kasheer—Dr. Sufi.

(22) Paramanuk, Jassaka etc.

(23) Verses 5-6 (24) Verse 7.

(25) Abrupt Closure of the account strengthens this belief.

(26) Qutab-ud-din Shirazi, the author of "Tarjami-i-iqlidas, calls him as "Muffakhari Iran (The pride of Persia) in the preface of th's treatise, Dr. Parmu, Aistory of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, page 86.

(27) Kashmir under the Sultans—page 43,(28) Verse. 193. (29) Verse 142

(30) Verse 143 (31) Verse 160-161 (32) Verse 157 (33) Verse 310
(34) Verse 310 (35) Verse 139 (36) Verse 222 (37) 315.
(38) Verse 314 (39) Verse 338 (40) "Kashmir"-page 134
(41) History of Muslim rule in Kashmir-page 91.
(42) Kashmir under the Sultans page 48.
(43) Verses 331-338 (44) The actual word being 'Dvar Pati'—the master of gate—verse 339. (45) Verses 333-334.
(46) Verse 342 (47) Verse 343 (48) Verse 348 Peer Hassan Khoyami, (persian) page 17 and other persian chroniclers (49) Verse 343.
(50) Verse 348 (51) Peer Hassan Khoyami—Tarikhi-Kashmir page 154 Urdu Translation (52) Left-haad ritual consists of taking meat, fish, wine. indulgence in sex and concentration. It is also termed as 'five Ms' as the initials of all these words begin with M. (53) Cf. "Glimpses of Kashmiri Culture" Published by Parmananda Research Institute, Srinagar page 4-6.
(54) Dr. Mohibul Hassan, Kashmir under Sultans, page 48.
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(65) Verse 561 (66) Verse 394 (67) Verse 430 (68) Verse 435
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(82) Verse 774 (83) Verse 824.
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N. B. The verses quoted and referred to have been taken from Jona Raja's Raja Tarangini (Hindi) Edited by Dr. R.N. Singh, published by Chukhamba Sanskrit Series office Vanaras-1, 1972.

CHAPTER 10

Prime Ministers Under the Dogras

Ghulam Hassan Khan

The office of the Prime Minister in Jammu and Kashmir has existed ever since the reign of Maharaja Gulab Singh, the founder of Dogra rule and of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. In the official language of the State, the Prime Minister was known as the Dewan, but the British Government in India used the term "Prime Minister" and "Chief Minister" synonymously in their official business.[1] The Prime Ministers under the first two rulers enjoyed almost peaceful and undisturbed tenures of office. Since the powers of the Maharaja were unlimited and beyond challenge, he was the sole authority to initiate and exercise these powers in legislative, executive and judicial spheres. The Maharaja was the only authority who could make the appointment of his Dewan or Prime Minister. But the ruler, at the same time, was not bound to make the appointment of the Dewan with legal formalities. A Prime Minister could be sometimes informally appointed.

> "..................of the Maharaja's Councilors, the first is the Dewan Anant Ram, son of the late Kripa Ram and Cousin of the Dewan Gobind Sahai. Dewan Anant Ram has never been formally appointed by the Maharaja as Prime Minister.............."[2]

The importance of the office of the Prime Minister in, those days depended more on the initiative and personality of its holder. During Ranbir Singh's reign, the Prime-Minister could not be effective force to guide the policies of the administration, because of the presence of a more countable force in the Court, in the person of Wazir Punoo. The

Prime Minister was, therefore, considered to be "weak" and having little influence. Henvey writes :—

> "In an indirect way he (Anant Ram) has often represented himself to me as being opposed by the party of Wazir Punno and, he has hinted that if enemies were removed, he would accomplish wonders."[3]

During Maharaja Pratap Singh's rule, the Prime-Minister became a matter of grave concern with the Government of India. Two reasons may be assigned to this. First, by this time, the British ruling class had begun to look at Kashmir from an international point of view. The Russian influence in Central Asia, in the opinion of the Government of India, constituted the main threat to the security of India. In order to check the Russian advance towards India across the North-West, Kashmir was chosen to be the place from where the Russian advance could be effectively checked. Kashmir was to be brought under strict watch and hence, the period of intervention started. Secondly, the British interference in and control over Kashmir could be secured only if the Maharaja's independent status was changed. An independent ruler could never be tolerated, for that would create more complications for the Government of India in the pursuit of their foreign policy. The Maharaja needed to be placed under the shadow of British paramountcy. In this process, Maharaja Pratap Singh became a victim of British policy of intervention towards Jammu and Kashmir State. The tragedy with Maharaja Pratap Singh was that he died without any issue to succeed.[4] Maharaja Pratap Singh ascended the "Gadi" in 1885 and allowed the office of the Dewan to be retained by Dewan Anant Ram, and after him by the Dewan Lakshman Dass. The Maharaja, an issueless ruler, was exploited by his brother Raja Amar Singh, who began to covet the throne. Amar Singh, therefore, found in the Government of India an ally. As against this, the Maharaja wanted to adopt the son of the Raja of Poonch who was the cousin of His Highness. Raja Amar Singh, was against this adoption. Thus started a period of indirect rivalry between the two brothers, each fearing the other. In this whole drama

the part played by the Government of India did not only bring the Maharaja to utter humiliation and helplessness but it also affected the office of the Prime-Minister. No Prime-Minister of Maharaja's choice could be tolerated. Henceforth, the appointment of the Prime-Minister and the scope of influence the high office weilded, began to be determined by the Govt. of India. The then British Govt. of India began to find fault with the Prime-Minister of the Maharaja so that a new Prime Minister of the British choice could be installed. The Resident of Kashmir wrote :—

> The Dewan was "weak and cunning but well-meaning. Both of them i.e. the Prime-Minister and Babu Nilumber. another of the Maharaja's counsellors were blamed to be wholly unable to cope with the difficulties which will meet them in improving the administration".[5]

On the pretext of the defective administration, the Maharaja was forced to change his Prime-Minister. The British would not allow the Maharaja a free choice in appointing his new Dewan However, when they failed in this, the Resident lost no time in blaming, once again, the new Prime-Minister as being notorious and corrupt and without any administrative experience. One of the charges against the Prime Minister was that he used the supreme influence in making the Maharaja resist the attempts of the British Government in establishing their supremacy over the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Behind these and various other charges lay the British interest to recommend to the Maharaja to accept the recommendation. The British Government was not satisfied until Raja Amar Singh was installed to the office of the Prime Minister. The Govt. of India saw to it that the Maharaja recognised Raja Amar Singh as his Dewan and his son, Prince Hari Singh, as the sole successor to the Gadi after Pratap Singh's death. This obviously proves how cunningly the British Government endeavoured to subvert the position of the Maharaja and how, in the bargain, they succeeded in undermining the status of the Prime-Minister. It became almost vivid that no one could aspire to the post of Prime-Ministership in the Jammu and Kashmir State if he were inconvenient to the Government of

India. On this issue Mr. Dobbes, Deputy Secretary to Government of India, in an official letter to Sir Francis Younghusband. Resident in Kashmir, wrote :—

"His Excellency had hoped that the position had been explained to His Highness at that interview with sufficient clearness to obviate the possibility of any misunderstanding, but as His Highness appears to have some doubt on the subject, I am to request that he may be again informed distinctly that adoption in no way effects the succession to the Kashmir Chiefship, which is regarded by the Govt. of India as now vested in Raja Amar Singh and his son, the Mian Sahib Hari Singh..............You should further intimate to His Highness that His Excellency's *Kharita* must be read as definitely deciding the succession in favour of Raja Amar Singh, and next to him, his son the Mian Sahib and that no adoption which His Highness may make, can affect this decision"[6].

By the time, this decision was conveyed to Maharaja Pratap Singh, a surprising development had already taken place in the State in 1889. The Maharaja was deprived of all powers and authority on grounds of corruption and maladministration which was rampant in the State. He was forced to hand over the state—administration to a Council which consisted of five members, including a British officer to be selected by the Government of India. The Council was "to have full and sole powers in all public departments of the State for a period of five years"[7].

Under these changed conditions, the office of the Prime-Minister was retained though in name only. In fact, the Council possessed no powers of initiative and practically all business was transacted with the consent of the Resident who enjoyed the power to veto. One may call this time in the political history of Jammu and Kashmir as the period of Residency Raj.

Politically and administratively speaking, the Prime-Minister became the mouth-piece of the Govt. of India. Nothing but

loyalty came to be recognized as the measure of efficiency of the person holding the office of Prime-Minister. This loyalism for the first time was best found in Raja Sir Amar Singh because "the office of Prime-Minister, an office the duties of which the Raja (Amar Singh) is at this moment performing in a most upright and creditable manner, and to the entire satisfaction of the Government of India". It was in this way that the Government of India rendered the ruler powerless and the Prime-Minister a favourite of the Government of India.

In 1905, the Maharaja of Jammu & Kashmir was restored to his previous status but this time on the condition that he "will take no steps of any importance without consulting him (Resident) and...... will follow advice whenever it may be offered."[9] But the restoration of Maharaja to his original position did not dispel from his mind and heart the fear which he had been nourishing since the time he had been deprived of his authority. The Maharaja held his Prime Minister Raja Amar Singh responsible for the conspiracy against him. In the presence of Prime-Minister, Raja Amar Singh, the Maharaja was not able to discharge the responsibility which devolved upon him on matters of administration; the Maharaja wanted "a Chief-Minister upon whom I can place absolute confidence who could work in harmony with the spirit with which I am determined to rule over, and to promote the welfare of, my subjects, and who would be possessed of the capacity to carry into execution the ideas I have as to manner in which the administration of the State should be carried out. It is only then that I will feel that the enhanced powers which the Government have been pleased to confer on me have been really allowed to have their effect."[10] The Maharaja was never ready to make a compromise with his brother. He wanted a man of confidence and ability to be his Prime-Minister, the qualities which according to him, were lacking in Raja Amar Singh. This is the reason why the Maharaja depended more on his Private Secretary, Dayakishen Kaul, than the Prime-Minister, for the conduct of official correspondence. This fact was realized by the Government of India.. Writing on

this position and powers of the Chief-Minister, Sir Francis Younghusband, Resident of Kashmir observed :—

"The Chief-Minister in this State, under present conditions exercises very little authority. All business is in theory submitted through him to the Maharaja, but in practice he has very little power."[11]

Younghusband wrote further......"very often the Maharaja never even saw the cases. It came to this, therefore, that Kashmir was being ruled by the Maharaja's Private Secretary, and the Chief-Minister was a non-entity."[12]

Since the Private Secretary to the Maharaja was involved in Kashmir politics, the Government of India was faced with an enigma. On the one hand, the Maharaja was not at any cost willing to accept Raja Amar Singh as his Chief-Minister and on the other hand, the Government of India would neither see the Prime-Minister's existence ignored nor would they tolerate seeing the Private Secretary to the Maharaja continue in position and influence. It was, therefore, felt that the Private Secretary was not used against the Prime Minister and "that it would be in the interests of the State if Sir Amar Singh were removed to some other sphere of usefulness and official Chief-Minister be put in his place". Younghusband wrote :

"I consider the work of the State would be better carried on by a Chief-Minister who would clearly be, as His Highness expresses it, his servant rather than by a Minister, whom the Maharaja insists upon regarding as his rival and who was for many years superior to himself in administration."[13]

Once again the diplomatic weapon was employed against Private Secretary of the Maharaja and he was turned out of the State. Sir Raja Amar Singh died in 1910. In theory, the Maharaja resorted to making the appointment of his Dewans himself but the appointment of the Prime-Minister in future came to be determined, in practice, by the choice of the Govt.

of India and the Maharaja only fulfilled the formalities of pointment.

The most important phase of Kashmir politics begins during the reign of Maharaja Sir Hari Singh. Maharaja Hari Singh ascended the throne in 1925, soon after Maharaja Pratap Singh's death. Maharaja Sir Hari Singh was different man from his predecessors, both in temperament and outlook.

Nurtured and educated as he was, on British lines, Maharaja Hari Singh wanted to reform the administrative set-up of the State, on modern lines. He showed a keen zeal in the beginning of his rule to attend public meetings thereby to become more popular with his subjects. This was not liked by his British masters. Besides, by the time Hari Singh became the Maharaja, the people of the State had become politically conscious due to surrounding influences. This resulted in the commencement of the freedom movement a few years after Maharaja Hari Singh had assumed throne. Under these circumstances, the Prime-Minister in Jammu and Kashmir assumed more importance than his predecessors. The Prime-Minister under Raja Hari Singh assumed varying degrees of power and prestige according to the needs of the time. Out of fourteen Prime-Ministers, who served under Maharaja Hari Singh, three were English men, one was a Kashmiri Pandit and the rest were non-Kashmiris. None of the Kashmir Muslims ever served as the Prime-Minister during the whole history of Dogra rule in the State.[14] Among all the Prime-Ministers who held office during Maharaja Hari Singh's rule, Gopalaswami Ayyangar assumed to himself all the powers of the Government. He proved more loyal to the Government of India than to the Maharaja. As an agent of the British Government, Ayyangar, not only crushed the people of the State, but acted as a spy in the State. The Maharaja was considered by the British to be an agent of the Indian National Congress. During World War II the British believed, that the Maharaja was in league with Subash-Chander Bose's left-wing of the Congress party and that he in league with Congress left wing, was hatching a conspiracy with German spies in

Kashmir against the British in India. One Abdul Rehman Affindi, an Afghan in Kashmir and an intimate friend of the Maharaja, was also involved in this conspiracy. It was to expose this conspiracy that Ayyangar was recommended to be appointed as the Prime-Minister of Kashmir. Ayyangar established a ramified system of intelligence Bureau to keep a strict watch over the activities of the Maharaja. He also resorted to ruthless suppression of the people and their political movement received a serious set-back during his tenure. For all this, Ayyangar earned the name of the "Iron-Man".[15]

After the end of the World War II and after Ayyangar relinquished office there was a steady decline in the powers and position of the Prime-Ministers in the State.

The powers and position of the Prime-Minister can be discussed during Dogra rule under two phases. The first phase may be taken from the beginning of the Dogra rule upto 1934 or what may be called as the pre-constitutional era, and the second from 1934 to 1947 or the constitutional era. During the first phase, the duties of the Prime-Minister were officially enumerated as under :-

1. "The Prime-Minister will be the executive head of the Administration.

2. "He shall be the channel of communication in all important state affairs between the Council and the Resident as well as with native States except in political matters which will be conducted through the Resident.

3. "The Prime-Minister may if necessary call for and examine any proceedings laid or pending before any Departmental officer on the executive side taking care that no undue delay is caused and may for sufficient reasons refer the case with his opinion for disposal of the Council under their rules. This, however, shall not be deemed to apply to cases in the Judicial & Revenue courts, governed as they are by special laws passed in Council.

4. "The Prime-Minister shall countersign all official letters from Departmental officers to the Resident.

5. "For the information of the Prime-Minister the different Heads of each Department, will furnish him with such returns as may be prescribed or called for from time to time.

6. "All appointments made by the State Council shall be confirmed under the Sanad signed by the Prime-Minister. A final appeal from orders in charge of different Departments dismissing or punishing offiicials with suspension or loss of pay for more than two months shall lie to the Prime-Minister who will also frame rules for appointing, transferring, giving leave to and discharging officials of all grades except the members of the State Council in the Revenue, Judicial all Civil Departments of the State.

7. "The Prime-Minister shall keep in his custody all State documents furnishing a list of the same for record in the office of the Council,

8. "The Prime-Minister shall sign all orders for the withdrawal of monies from Revenue Treasuries when such withdrawals have been duly sanctioned at a]meeting of the Council.

9. "The Prime-Minister can at will bestow *khilats*, rewards-donations and charitable grants within the Budget Provision sanctioned to him for that purpose subject to report at the next meeting of the Council of all the grants and donations exceeding Rs. 1,000/-.

10. "All officials of the State maintained in attendance but without appointments shall be subordinate to and carry out the orders of the Prime-Minister who will be responsible for employing them usefully.

11. "No grants of new *jagir* or *mafis* can be submitted for the consideration of the State Council except by the Prime-Minister and he will submit to the Council any change thought desirable in the terms of existing *jagir* or *mafis*."[16]

The position of the Prime-Minister during pre-constitutional era in the State may be summarised as under."[17]

(i) The Prime-Minister was the Chief-Councillor of the Maharaja. His position in the Court was quite distinctive. He occupied the first seat at the time of the royal *darbar* on the right side of the Maharaja. His position may easily be described as the first among equals. This position the Prime-Minister enjoyed throughout the Dogra rule.

(ii) Royal Darbars were convened by the Prime-Minister. It was he, who would read out the Farmans in Darbars on behalf of the Maharaja.

(iii) The Prime-Minister acted as a link between the Maharaja and his subjects. During the emergencies and other crises, the Prime-Minister called all Jagirdars, Chakdars, Zaildars, Rais-i-Mulk (wealthy citizen) and other men of eminence and influence and made enquiries from them with regard to the nature of the emergencies and the grievances of the people. Ordinarily, the Prime-Minister himself took immediate remedial measures, but in special matters the Maharaja's consent was sought.

(iv) In case the subjects of the State or their deputationists or their leaders wanted to have a face to face talk with the Maharaja, they had to seek first the permission of the Prime-Minister who would fix the time, date and place for such appointments. The Prime-Minister had the power to refuse or reject such requests.

(v) The Prime-Minister arranged meetings and interviews between the Maharaja and foreign dignitaries. He fixed with the consent of the Maharaja, the date, time and place for such meetings.

(vi) From the very beginning of the Dogra rule, there happened to be Department of Charity. The charity used to be distributed among Maharaja's poor, needy and invalid subjects The charity used to be distributed either on occassions of some natural calamity or

on the birth day of the Maharaja. In Kashmir this was known as "Unkoot". The Prime-Minister personally supervised the process of distribution of "Unkoot". He also allotted the quota of "Unkoot" to be distributed at various places known as Sesh—bukas[18] i.e. six Muslim shrines and six Hindu shrines in Srinagar. There could be other places in the State also where charity was distributed.

(vii) Among religious festivals, Dusehra was celebrated with all pomp and grandeur. Arrangements with respect to Dusehra were made under the personal guidance and direction of the Prime-Minister. He also convened the military parades on such occasion.

(viii) The Prime-Minister recommended to His Highness the appointment of a person in the ministry and, his retention or dismissal.

(ix) Theoritically as well as practically, all official communications to the ruler passed through the hands of the Prime-Minister. On matters of importance the Prime-Minister's advice carried tremendous weight and the ruler did not take ordinarily any action on the matters of importance without consulting the Prime-Minister. He was the Maharaja's chief-advisor and man of confidence.

As already mentioned, the office of the Prime-Minister assumed great importance in the State, during the thirties and forties of the present century. The official status and position of the Prime-Minister can be easily understood in the light of the Constitution Act which was promulgated in the State for the first time in 1934, as a result of popular demand. The Act of 1934 proved unsatisfactory and the people as a result of their demand for a more liberal constitution got another instalment of constitutional reform in 1939 when the Constitution Act of 1939, was passed.

The Acts provided that the Executive business of the State "shall be taken in the name of His Highness. There was to be

a Council of Ministers of the State as the Maharaja would appoint[19]. The Prime-Minister was to act as the President of the Council and all ministers were to hold office during the pleasure of the Maharaja. The Council of Ministers was responsible to the ruler[20].

For the conduct of the smooth running of the administration "the Prime-Minister may with the previous sanction of His Highness make rules for the more convenient transaction of the business of the Council.[21]

The Prime-Minister was vested with tremendous powers in the field of legislation. He was authorised to "allot so many days of the session as may in his opinion be possible. Compatible with the public interest, for business of non-official members of the Assembly, and may allot different days for the disposal of different classes of such business; and on days so allotted for any particular class of business, business of that class shall have precedence. On the other days no business other than Government business shall be transacted except with the consent of the Prime-Minister.........[22]

It was the duty of the Secretary of the Legislative Assembly to make available, for the use of every member, a copy of the Prime Minister's orders, alloting days for non-official business. The Secretary was required to arrange business of the Assembly, Government business of the Assembly having precedence in the Assembly in such order as the Prime-Minister might intimate.[23]

With regard to the Prime-Minister's financial powers it was laid down when the budget was laid on the table of the Assembly, Prime-Minister would assign six days[24] for the particular discussion of items of the budget under those heads which were admissible for discussion in the Assembly. The Prime-Minister after consultation with the President of the Assembly and non-official members, would divide these heads of the budget in order of priority, within the group and allot two days to the discussion of each group of the budget-heads.[25]

The budget was prepared by the Council under the Prime-Minister's general supervision. He was the final judge to

determine, "any question whether any proposed expenditure falls within a class of expenditure charged on the revenues of the State".[26] His decision in this respect was final.

As to the demands for grants, no such demand could be made except on the recommendation of the Council,[27] and any further expenditure, over and above the expenditure already authorised for the year, the Council, was vested with the power to authorise the expenditure.[28] Such expenditure was to be submitted to the Assembly.

No bill or amendment making provisions for :—

(a) imposing, increasing or decreasing any tax, or.

(b) for regulating the borrowing of money or the giving of any guarantees by the Council or for amending the law with respect to any financial obligation undertaken by the Council, or

(c) for declaring any expenditure to be expenditure charged on the revenues of State", could be introduced or moved in the Assembly except with the previous sanction of the Prime Minister.[29]

The Prime-Minister was also given overriding powers with regard to the general legislation. Thus, "where a Bill has been passed by the Praja-Sabha, the Prime-Minister may, instead of presenting for the assent of His Highness, return it to the Praja Sabha for reconsideration in whole or in part, together with any amendments which he may recommend.[30]

Again, "where a Bill has been passed by the Praja Sabha and has not been returned to it by the Prime-Minister for reconsideration, it shall be submitted in whole or in part together with any amendments which he may recommend.[31]

The most powerful weapon placed in the hands of the Prime-Minister was the power of certification. The Act provided :

"If the Prime-Minister at any time certifies that the discussion of a Bill introduced or of any specified clause of a Bill

or of any amendment thereto would effect the safety or tranquility of the State or any part thereof, he may direct that no proceedings, or no further proceedings, shall be taken in relation to the Bill, clause or amendment or resolution or amendment, and effect shall be given to the directions".[32]

Any dispute which arose with regard to the interpretation or executive out of the provisions of the act or the rules made thereunder the decisions of the Council subject to the provision of Section 5 were to be final".[33]

Besides the above mentioned powers of the Prime-Minister, the Act laid down other provisions which made his position manifest. A member holding the office of Deputy President of the Assembly could vacate his office at any time by submitting his resignation in writing under his hand addressed to the Prime-Minister. Such a person could be removed from his office by a resolution of the Assembly passed by a majority of members at the time.[34]

Before entering upon office, the Prime-Minister as well as other ministers, were required to take an oath. The oath bound the ministers to remain faithful and to be truly loyal to His Highness and his successors. The oath also bound the ministers to keep secret everything that would come to them for consideration. However, they could disclose any such secrecy only when specially permitted by the Maharaja or in case it was required to be disclosed by them for the due discharge of their duties as ministers.[35]

It will be inferred from the account given above that the Prime-Minister used to be His Highness' Chief advisor and man of confidence. At the Royal Darbars, the Prime-Minister held a distinctive position by occupying the first seat on the right side of the Maharaja. He was the Chief-spokesman of the Darbar. He conveyed the Farmans of the Maharaja to the Darbar. He was the only link between the Maharaja and his subjects. Naturally, next to the ruler, the Prime-Minister held a very respectable position in the State. He was looked upto with great expectations by the people.

The Prime-Minister could permit the people to see their ruler, whenever they desired. It was the Prime-Minister who would reject or refuse such permission. During the times of grave emergencies and critical situations in the State, everybody would wait upon the Prime-Minister to discuss the matters. Any deputation of the people or an association or any leader wanting to wait upon the Maharaja was required to see the Prime-Minister first. Any foreign visitor desiring to have an interview with the Maharaja had to seek permission from the Prime-Minister, who in all such matters fixed the time, date and place. The Prime-Minister was really a man of great influence and eminence in the State.

With regard to the administration, the Prime-Minister was the head of the administration set-up and, as such, he supervised the smooth functioning of the departments, ensuring that the administration was conducted on the principles of coordination. The Prime-Minister with the previous sanction of the Maharaja made the rules for the more convenient transaction of the business of the Council. It ultimately fell on the Prime-Minister to distribute portfolios among his colleagues.

The Prime-Minister's advice to His Highness with respect to the appointment, retention or dismissal of a minister carried much weight and often the Maharaja would not ignore the advice given to him by the Prime-Minister in that regard. With respect to the transfers of other key officials of the State and their appointments and dismissal, the Prime-Minister ordinarily exercised his own discretion. Thus in the field of administration, the powers of the Prime-Minister were overwhelming.

The most significant of the powers exercised by the Prime-Minister were in the field of legislation, both with respect to general legislation and financial legislation. So for as the legislative business was concerned, the Prime-Minister was final judge to make the categories of the work of legislation into groups and also give each group the order of precedence.

The financial powers of the Prime-Minister were multi-dimensional. The Prime-Minister after 1934, was made a prototype of the Governor of a British Indian province, under the Act of 1919. The budget was prepared by the Council of Ministers under the general supervision of the Prime-Minister. He was the final judge to determine whether any proposed expenditure fell within a class of expenditure charged on the revenue of the State. The final decision whether any demand for grant could be authorised or not, rested with the Prime-Minister. His previous sanction to a Bill providing for the imposing, increasing or decreasing a tax or for borrowing or for regulating the money was essential before it could be introduced in the Assembly. The Prime-Minister was the sole authority in determining the financial business of the Legislature.

The most crucial weapon placed in the hands of the Prime-Minister was the power of certification. By the exercise of this power, he could stop, the consideration of a Bill on the simple pretext that the Bill affected the safety and tranquility of the State or a part thereof. What constituted threat or danger to the safety or security of the State was determined by the Prime-Minister alone. This discretion of the Prime-Minister could not be challanged by any body. This power of the Prime-Minister proved a great limitation on the powers of the Legislative Assembly. It did not only shatter the aspirations of popular elements of the Assembly but, its very exercise was bound to impede the progressive and social legislation which the State was much in need of.

It is quite evident that the Prime-Minister could not dare to do anything which would harm the person of the ruler. He was, therefore, bound to act in strict conformity with the ruler's instructions. That is the reason why the Prime-Ministers in the State always failed to evolve a system of administration which truly reflected the popular aspirations. The Prime-Minister, in short, was the reflection of the autocracy and despotism in the State.

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(3) Ibid.

(4) A son was born to Maharaja Pratap Singh but he did not survive.

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(11) National Archives. Position and Powers of the Chief-Minister of the J and K State; No. 714; dated Gulmarg, the 24th Aug. 1906 (Confidential) *Proceeding of the Govt. of India in the month of Feb. 1907, Secret-1.*

(12) Ibid. (13) Ibid.

(14) The only Muslim but non-Kashmiri Prime-Minister in J and K State during the entire period of the Dogra rule was Nawab Yavar Ali Khan. He only officiated as Prime-Minister for 100 days when B.N. Rau remained out of the State.

(15) The information has been collected in an interview with Mohsin Kashmiri in July, 1973.

(16) J & K State Archives. *File No. 1, 1889. His Highness' Government Jammu and Kashmir General Records. General and Political Report.*

(17) Interview with Mohsin Kashmiri; Op. cit.

(18) Sesh—bukas were Dargah, Jamia Masjid, Khankahi Moula, Dastgir Sahib, Madina Sahib, etc. Hindu shrines included Gaddadar Mandir, Rughnath Mandir, Durga Mandir etc.

(19) Regulation 1, 1934; Section 5.

(20) Regulation No. XIV, 1939; Section 7

(21) Ibid, Section 9.

(22) J & K Legislative Assembly ; Rules of Business and Procedure 1934, rule 9.

(23) Ibid, rule 8.

(24) Ibid, rule 83.

(25) Ibid, rule 85.

(26) Regulation No. XIV of 1996 Samvat Corresponding 1939; Section 44

(27) Ibid, Section 45 (3).

(28) Ibid, Section 46.

(29) Ibid, Section 49 (a).

(30) Ibid, Section 31 (1).

(32) Ibid, Section 35.

(33) Ibid, Section 75.

(34) Ibid, Section 21.

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CHAPTER 11

Political Ideas of Mahjoor

Prof. Miss Tasneem Bakhshi

Whether Mahjoor's ideas qualify to be termed as "Political"? The criticism that I had elevated the poet to philosophical and Hobbesian heights was also voiced in some cross sections of opinion.

Now, this section of theory and thought which is termed as "political" is generally and almost habitually deemed to find its best expression in political institutions, Governmental systems, statements of publicists, leaders and politicians of varying degrees, and more frequently in the theories of the systematic philosophers alone. Such generalisation, I agree, is not wholly devoid of truth. But here what I suggest (and also deem it to be the reply to the above made queries and criticism) is that such generalisations must not necessarily adopt a presumptive and sweeping nature that would lead to the exclusion of wider segments of human beings and their behaviour. After all, Political Science essentially strives to study the human behaviour in regard to state, its institutional, governmental, and political structure. The efforts to study and analyze the political behaviour and thought of these wider segments, besides the above mentioned few established categories, will be highly desirable. Studies aimed at assessing the thought of such men who reflect something, what we may call "akin to politics" in them, will not only facilitate flexibility of approach in such studies in particular but also lead to a further broadening of the scope of our discipline in general.

Approach

In mention of the approach to the present paper, two assertions may be made.

Firstly and essentially, my approach is based on the proposition discussed at length above.

Secondly, the purpose of the paper is not (as was not that of the dissertation) to prove that politics was essentially implicit in his writing or that his poetry was of political nature. Such an absolutizing statement will be contrary to fact. The underlying object of the paper is to show that some ideas close to the forms of certain basic political concepts are discoverable or discernable in his poetry. It is these forms I would like to point out specifically. The attempt would also be to trace the broadcurrents running in Mehjoor's poetry in their relation to thethen-existing social, economic, and political atmosphere in Kashmir.

The paper has been divided into two sections. The first would reflect his ideas on human nature, religion, God and humanitarianism. The second will reveal the secularistic and nationalistic elements in the poet. Here the conditions out of which such tendencies grew will be mainly highlighted. His attitude towards revolution is also discussed briefly. Finally, on the basis of the preceding analysis, I have drawn some general inferences.

On Human Nature :

To Mahjoor men are much more different than they are alike. The diversities among human beings, divergences in their tastes and interests are viewed with an amount of dissatisfaction by him :

اکِہ شکلِہ پھولِیت وُچھم ساسہ بَدپوش
زہ اِنسان ہیو نو رَلان کھاکھِہ یارو

I have seen innumerable flowers of same hue and colour, but no two men are ever the same.

Mehjoor does not seem to be having a faith in the innate goodness of human nature. For his dissatisfaction bordering

on contempt, more than not, crystalizes itself in clear denunciation of ambition, selfishness and violence in human nature. The two following verses broadly reflect this :

غرضس تہ لولس گو کنوئی دووٕ میول آبس بیت
کُس آسہ شوِیس غرضہ نِش بیون ژار محبت

Selfishness and love have been inseparably fused together there will be none to seek detachment of the two.

اِنسان حیوان تریشہ کَنہ اِنسانہ سندوئی خون
انسانیت نا روز کُنہ اِنسان کَن منتر

The man drinks the blood of his fellowmen, the concept of human feelings does no longer exist.

The degeneration or downfall of the "perfected self" was regarded almost impossible by the poets of the sufi tradition as well as by the poets of the suceeding Romantic School, though in a lesser degree. What we find in Mehjoor is rather an acceptance of and a belief, in possible downfall and degenaration of men. Liberty and honesty, religiosity and sincerity, courage and good-will, in his opinion had been the leading ideals of the preceding generations.[1] Contrary to this, a deep sense of disillusionment with present age and generations is characterstically predominant in him as is openly expressed in the poem "Kats Zoon" (the eclipsed moon). While registering his deep shock at men's down-fall, the poem also hints to an unfavourable political system around them. Mehjoor's assertion on human degeneration, in my opinion, has its roots not so much in the perversity of human nature as in the injustices of the existing system.

On Religion

To the established rule of 'Man being the product of his times' Mehjoor proved a startling exception.[2] He rose in clear rebellion denying the sanctity of the religion. This was done

in a manner rather unexpected of a student of a fixed creed as he was. True he said :

> Of what use are the creeds and rituals to a freedom loving person like me ?

He made of religion a kind of humanitarian philosophy and attached high value to the ideas of truthfulness, love and purity of heart. All these put together constituted the essence of religion for him. Religiosity devoid of purity of heart is regarded as useless;

شوقہ سان پیٚتھن پان پاروٗم
تتہِ میانہ آتش لوان مشکِن دار
تمہ مَد نوارن من پرکھوٗم
کمئ روشہ نووم پوشہ موٚت یار

> Decking myself in all earnest, my body exuded fragrances unbounded, the loved one (GOD) tested my heart (impure) and discarded me in anger.

Excellence of moral virtues leads to the Infinite, in Mehjoor's opinion :

بَن ژہ جوہر سنگ دِلبر پیدا کر پانس اندر
پرَدہ ساری دوٗر کر پانس تہ جانانس اندر

> Be perfect, cultivate in yourself the essence of the loved one (God). Remove all obstacles in 'self' that keep you away from him.

The eternal blessedness, according to the poet, lies within a pure heart and pure conscience of man and not in seeking the Divine.

کُس کران چھک پوشہ پوزا۔ کور کُن لاجھتہ نماز
بَندگی کر پانَن پانس کعبہ ژئ بُت خانہ ژئ

Why do you offer flowers and who do you pray to ? Your heart is the source of all piety, O, Man, worship thyself.

The transcendental and eschatological aspects of religion did appeal to him. In tracing his aversion to rigid and narrow creeds, the following verse is an important indicator in this regard;

دوِن بارن منز بھاس تراوان مذہبک قانون

The religious laws create barriers between two brothers. But, a bond of love brings close even two strangers.

A kind of humanitarianism seems to have crystallized into an ultimate religion for the poet by transcending all other religions. Yet this transcendence is not absolute. His humanitarianism does not strive to supersede other religion but rather at times seeks to harmonize them by tracing their similarities. This attempt at harmonizing coupled with another basic belief—that the fundamental maxims of all religions are the same postulate of same virtues——is reflected in the verse;

Quran reveals the greatness of love And Geeta tells us the same truth that love alone makes`a man a pure human being ?

On God

Here Mehjoor's main contribution lies in his deliberate avoidance of mystic fancies. The Absolute Powerful Lord of Sufi's is regarded as a Supreme Kind Master, generous, benevolent, and kInd to his creation;

باوہ کس بویم ستم مارہ متو ژہ بوزتم

Who else than you will pay heed my love to my weal and woes.

He is impersonalized in a manner daringly different and is addressed as "Poshimut" (Lover of flowers); "Lalla" (the dear

one); Marmot" (lover of love) instead of traditional "Day" (absolute Supreme).

The concept of 'Divine omnipresence' is vigorously asserted by Mehjoor.[3] He does not find God in distant heavens or lonely solitudes, away from the world of life. The universe in all its varying shades of beauty, nature and colour is seen as an expression and manifestation of his grace :—

مہجور بوزان بستین منز چانہ حُسنک شور
منز جنگلن ہوہہ رائے چانی ہائے مدلو

Mehjoor feels your presence in deep habitats, Likewise; the dense forests are but expressions of your grace.

His attempt to commonize the concept of Divine Omnipresence in the verse :

پھتہ ون گرتھت زاگے ہمس ہی ستھرہ تل پاون ہمس
سوئی سجدہ ون چھم کوہ طور دوردانہ مو ییم دور دور

In a dense forest near a honey suckle, I will wait for you my Lord. For that forest is no less sacred to me, than was Tour to Moses. Don't be far from me any more

is highly reminiscent of Wordsworthian style of every common bush being a-fire with God. The common good of man which mystic philosophy termed as "Irfaniyat" (blessedness) consists in the realization of the universe around him. Love is another concomitant of that blessedness. God's love cannot be sought without love for his creation. The former is incomplete without the later. Thus concepts of Divine love and Human love are not only closely interrelated and interlinked but are rather inseparably fused together as is manifest from the following poetry :

دوپ مہ یارس میون دِل کرتن قبول
تورہ دوپنم لولہ ہوت چھُنہ چون دِل

I asked my God to accept my heart, He refused saying it is devoid of love

لولہ ہوت بو ژھارن یار، سامانہ چھم نہ درکار
تسبیح تہ خورن کھراوٗ، کیاہ ژھارہ ورش ہاوٗ

I will search for my lord with heartful of love ; For seeking his grace, I don't require any breads, chants or rituals.

Mehjoor as a Secularist :

Two important and mentionable factors that shaped and moulded Mehjoor's secular ideas were, firstly, Kashmir's old-age-tradition of secularism and secondly, the Trika influence, a philosophical combination of Hinduism, Islam, and Buddhism which greatly influenced the ancient, medieval, and modern thought and poetry in Kashmir.

It is a paradox worth noticing that the first 'poet exponent' of secularism, Mehjoor approached the well-worn pathway of poetry with an intense sympathy and feeling towards one particular community-Muslims. An earlier poem appealed thus as early as 1924 calling on Muslims in a sentimental and feverish manner, typical of poets, to drink "once more" the old wine they had drunk in their great days.

بتا اے مُسلمِ کشمیر کبھی سوچا بھی ہے تو نے
تو ہے کس گلشنِ رنگین کا برگِ شاخِ عریانی
تیرے اسلاف وہ تھے جنکے علم و فضل کے آگے
ادب سے جھکتے تھے دانشورانِ ہند و ایرانی

O'Muslims of Kashmir ! Have you ever reflected upon the grand culture to which you belonged. Before the wisdom and intellect of your ancestors, wisemen of Persia and India bowed their heads.

In my opinion, his one year stay in Qaidan and his association with Albadar—a paper mainly concerning itself with the

problems of Muslims and with bringing about a political awakening among them was responsible for this initial reaction. However, nothing was more characteristic of his mind than his quick realization of the social, political as well as historical demands of the time. His subsequent poems immensely broadened their canvas to include the entire nation representing diverse shades of religion, castes and faiths. Thus we see that during the national movement, his poetry ceaselessly strived for a triumph of nationalism over communalism. Depicting his aim in this regard he wrote.

مشیدن، مندرن، گرجن، دھرمسالن تہ استانن
یمن یتین گھرن اژہ لوک کنوئی دروازہ تھاون چھوم

Mosques, Temples, Churches, religious inns and idol-houses, For so many different places of worship I will make but one entrance.

Regarding the bond of unity between hindus and muslims of predominent importance, he strongly preached the union of their hearts.

دودھ چھو مسلم، ہیوند چھ شکر صاف صاف
دودھ تہ بیہ شکر رلاوو پانہ وآن

Muslim is like milk and Hindus is like sugar, Mix these two tastes better.

Enjoining them to share the responsibilities and burdens in running the state, he said ;

ہند رٹن نم، کھور واٹن اہل دین
ناو یمہ ملکچ چلاوو پانہ وآن

Helms will be kept by Hindus and Oars played by the Muslims. Together row across the boat of your country.

On Revolution :

Poetry has always proved a great source for inspiring revolutions in the history of nations. Mehjoor also was intensely conscious of this iron force working behind the delicacy of poetic thought. He proclaimed

> the force of my songs and your courage combined, can shake the mountains and hills to their foundations.

Revolution is defined in his own words (revolution is) sum total of emotional fervour, restlessness, courage and youth.

ولولہ' جوشاہ' شابہ' اضطراباہ' ہمتاہ
پیدہ گژھِ یامت دِلن اندر تہ سوئی گو انقلاب

It is essentially regarded as a process of change upsetting the old order of things and substituting it by new one. This is generally endorsed and and welcomed by him as such. It is very disturbing for a soul like him, always impatient of tyranny, to find men yielding to oppression and resenting. change.

نہ ازکین عاشقن اندر تمنا سرفروشی ہیوند

No more is the desire for shedding their blood to be found in the patriots of today.

He does not seem to be approving a change that is brought about by slow tactics and in a haphazard manner. A stormy spirit, not a stop-gap arrangement, is considered the determinent factor in fostering a true revolution.

اگر وُزہ ناوُہن بستی گلشن ہنز' تراوُ زیر و بم
بُنیل کر' واوکر' گگرائے کر' طوفان پیدا کر

> If habitat of flowers (masses) is to be awakened, give up hesitant measures. Let thunder rumble, let there to be an earthquake.[4]

Revolution demands sacrifices, which, if chains of slavery are to be snapped must be given as a rule, he thought :

ہرُدِک طوفان پوشہ تھرِہ ژالن، سونت ییہ دوچھ اکہ تلہٕ پرفاش
سونٛ پھولہٕ تن یِش دِیہ جنجالن، ستگرمالن ییہِ پرگاش

Flowers will wait patiently for Autumn storms to pass over. one day Spring will come and he, who bore hardships, will get his reward.

Nationalism in Mehjoor :

In order to trace nationalistic trends in Mahjoor, it is important at the outset to list briefly four or five factors which were mainly responsible for strengthening such trends in his poetry. The first and important factor in this regard was the period in which Mehjoor was born. The strong tide of Nationlism that swept the Europe in the Eighteenth century engulfed most of the Eastern and Western nations alike by the close of the nineteenth. Mehjoor was born thus in twilight of politically awakening East in the year 1887. Kashmir did not witness the upsurge of such forces upto the early twentieth century in the true sense of the term. However, in 1931 Kashmir saw a remarkable resurgence of nationalism which P.N. Bazaz calls unprecedented, elemental upheaval that brought Dogra Raj to a realization of stark reality.[5] One of the most striking of those wide-range of new political forces was the growth of nationalism. In it was seen an answer to the challenges posed by the decaying political system. The forces of democracy in the State were directed against the political absolutism and arbitration of Dogra rule, against institutionalized political inequality and entrenched economic privileges. Such a temparament as Mehjoor's could not have found a more stimulati ing environment than this. None is born an ardent nationlist. It was a period of over-all political awakening to which Mehjoor contributed by further fostering such an awakening. Neverthless, this was no little contribution.

Coupled and closely associated with the first, a second factor was the political and social atmosphere of Kashmir. A

vast class distinction between alien lords and native population, absolute illiteracy of the masses, low economic conditions, were, the salient facts of the situation.[6]

Such deplorable conditions of the Mother land must have been in great degree odious to a sensitive and thoughtful Mehjoor. Here his essential contribution lies in revolting against the prevalent conditions by inducting the theme of workman in his poetry and in urging countrymen to overthrow the Yoke of slavery, of oppression, rampant in their land.

A third factor was Mehjoor's unshakable faith in the past. Nationalism is essentially a group memory of past achievements, traditions and experiences. A voracious reader of Kashmir history, it must have revealed brilliant and highly civilized periods in the past, as is abvious from his poems. No wonder he felt highly proud of his inheritance. On the other hand was the deep shock at the insolence of the 'present' which further led to the strengthening of these elements in him. At times it even led to a certain amount of chauvinism. He criticized his great romantic predecessor Rasool Mir for being, what may be termed as 'extra-nationalist'.

شاہ باد میر اوس یاد کران قندہارٕچ زوٗن
تس کونہ ژیتس آس یوان ژندہارٕچ زوٗن ۔

In his praises for the bright Qandahar moon Rasool Mir even forgets the beautiful Zoon[7], who lived in Tsandahar.

Mehjoor's Close association as a Patwari with the peasantry who were the clear victims of an unjust system was another factor in determining the course of his nationalistic poetry.

Lastly what I consider a significant factor were 'outside influences'. Here it becomes important to find out why he alone proved harbinger of a new 'political and nationalistic' poetry ? Whether certain particular and outer influence worked besides the 'general and inner influences ?' Through Azad's writings on Mehjoor and other life sketches we learn that Mehjoor had an opportunity of studying vast

literature in Punjab where he spent six months. He also stayed in Amritsar where he made acquaintance of famous urdu poets Shibli Namani and Bismil Amritsari. His acquaintence with Mohamad Din Fauq. is also noteworthy in this regard.[8] Punjab was a hot bed of politics during that period where new political forms and forces like democracy, representative government, constitutionalism, had fully bloomed and were directly guiding the national struggle. Mehjoor could not have escaped these strong influences wholly, though the extent of such influence is yet to be examined thoroughly. Any future research attempting to discern and determine the extent of these influences will not only be highly desirable but very commendable in my opinion.

All the above mentioned factors combined not only to shape Mehjoor's nationalistic feelings but through him of the masses. The flames of growing nationalism were to a great extent fanned by his poetry and his poems became the national anthems for the national movement in Kashmir.

ولو ہا باغوانو نو بہارچ شان پیدا کر
پھولن گل گتھ کرن بلبل تتھی سامان پیدا کر-

Come, Gardner : create the glory of Spring : Make guls bloom and bulbuls sing—Create such haunts.[9]

Conclusion :

Mehjoor's essential contribution lies in affecting an obvious departure from the plaintive and melancholic philosophy of mystics belonging to the Kashmir School of Sufism. He changed 'other worldly' ideal of poetry into 'this worldly' by dropping not *only* the world negating philosophy of sufies but also by conceiving the world as a rational system. It is not a worthless world of mystics but a beautiful well-ordered whole. He expressed rythm of life in his poetry and seldom had poets expressed such happiness before :

خوشس تھاون مہجور دِل وسواسس تراوٗ
خوشس چھُہ دُنیا ' خوشس اگر تھاوُون دِل ۔

Leave the fear and fill your heart with happiness Mehjoor :
For then alone the world will be a place worth living.

صُبح چھُم ' باغ چھُم ' مستانہ دِل چھُم ' تازٕہ یاوُن چھُم
بہارس داد ہیون چھُم ' شوقہ سان گلزار چھاون چھُم ۔

With a morning and a garden, a carefree heart in youth's prime : I will highly enjoy this garden (of life) and so shall I have nice Spring.

A strong advocate of strenuous activism and energism, he freed poetry of that defeatism, quietism and escapism which it generally professed. This definitely led to a Renaissance in poetic thought.

Mehjoor evolved a very different concept of religion—a kind of philosophy of humanitarianism,—and provided not only moral but a Divine justification for public spirited virtues of love, kindness, benevolence and purity of heart.

His transformation of Divine love into an all-embracing universal phenomenon was another pleasant change. He transferred it from God to social structure and it came to be manifested in universe, nature, society and men. The concept of love was bestowed with universal character.

While considering permanent elements in Mehjoor as a person and a poet, he was a curious amalgam of steadfastness and gentleness, liberalism and conservatism, idealism and realism. Opposing tendencies seem to be exerting their rival pulls on him Though patriotic fervour and nationalistic feelings touched their extreme in Mehjoor, his ideas on revolution do not possess such intensity and outspokenness which was the characteristic feature of Azad's poetry who was not his disciple alone but a contemporary too.

In examining these permanent elements in him, a few instances may be sought to prove this poem. He inducted the theme of workmen's miseries in his poetry :

کیاہ وسے ورِیس جکھِتھ زینتھ بو رُودُس فاقہ مست
بیا رزلو' وانیو تہ سوتْرو غنیب کر انبار مینِ -

After working laboriously for the whole year. I remain starved.

Money lenders, grocers and black smiths have snatched every heap of corn from me.

دوہس زوجان ژٹھتھ شامس اڈٕی ژوٹ چھم دِوان حاکم

For a whole day I work for my master, but he keeps me half-starved.

Also he does not forget to strike optimistic notes regarding their future :

مُکلہ وون ظُلمک تہ لوُٹک دَور
وُڈُدار تہ چک دار گژھن کمزور

The era of tyranny and plunderings will come to an end]
Big landlords and lenders will go to the wall.

لُوکٕ بوڈ تہ کمزور بیہ زوراوار
روزِ نہ کانہہ گژھن ساری برابر
آدمی بنہ اِنسانا -

There will be no distiniction between high and low, strong and weak. The man will be 'human' and equality shall reign high.

On the one hand he calls on the labourer to find out their way out of their helplessness. Even this is done, at times, in a 'thickly disguised' manner. It is not as thinly disguised or at times 'not at all-disguised' plea of Azad and others who demanded and required of their labourer to inflame the itching

hand of tyranny in a fairly open manner. On the other hand, Mehjoor demands tolerance from his workmen in justification of an attitude towards their master. Thus in the words of Mehjoor's labourer :

چھُس منگان یارب امیرن زیادہ دولت کر عطا

کمِس راضی بوُستہ مینِس غمس تن دار آسن گوڑھ ۔

> I pray to God for the prosperity of my rich (master). Should my master share my grief, I will be contented with my lot.

Mehjoor seems to be abolishing the ill treatment of peasants by land lords without abolishing land-lordism : seems to be removing poverty but not the poor. In him there is a queer blending of a social equalitarianism and a defence of inequality. Perhaps Mehjoor wanted an end to landlordism but not in the manner as an advanced revolutionary poet would like. In this regard Mehjoor was more conservative than he was radical. Now, assessing the rival pulls of idealism and realism on him, he constantly looked forward to and in fact never felt wary of a rendezvous to the Utopian cities and societies[10] and of a return back of the golden age of the past. Yet he, on the other hand, does not overlook the evils and realities of the existing system They are dealt with in a manner, more or less of practical realist, as is reflected by the poem "Kashir Zanana" (the kashmiri woman). In fact his poetry alternated between two different tendencies, adopting one or the other at different times. This is no opportunism however, but rather a flexibility of thought in response to different situations.

An impassionate patriot, nationalist and a secularist, he doubtless broke a new ground in introducing a whole set of creative ideas. Once the channel of patriotic and nationalistic poetry was opened, he was followed by his revolutionary disciple Azad and others who contributed greatly in laying a distant edifice of dynamic poetry based on political and social

themes and in solving the problems of their society. Poetry concerned itself mainly with economic and political problem, to social and political structure, institutions and practices. And this development in poetry directly grew from Mehjoor.

REFERENCES

1. See the poem "Kats Zoon" in *Kalam-e-Mehjoor*, (Ali Mehd & sons), Srinagar, 1965.

2. In order to prove this point, a glimpse into the environment into which he was born and brought up becomes somewhat imperative. He was the only son of a religious peer-peerzada Abdullah Shah of Mitr'gam (originally from Noubug), known for his knowledge of religion, Arabic and Persian. Besides, he was brought up in perfect religious surroundings of intellectual calligraphers claiming their descent from a number of Sufi philosophers and religious scholars and famous calligraphers of Kashmir like Sheikh Yaqub Sarfi, Sheikh Tabib Rafiquee, Baba Hazoor-Allah, respectively. His Mother Sayeda died, dedicating a book on muslim philosopher Jami to her one-year-old son Ahmed. She urged him to act upon the teachings of that book. Under the guidance of his father, he very commendably committed nine chapters of Holy Quran to his memory at an earlp age of five. It was his father's footsteps he was supposed to follow in. His formal education at Nusrat-ul-Islam School, of Punj Ganj Nizami under teachers like Akhoon Abdul Ali Ganai 'Aashaq' and later Mohamad Hussain Shah was merely an indicator to this fact, Yet, a theological environment with a religion patriarch at its head seemed to have left little impression on the boys mind,

   (Azad Abdul Ahad. *Kashmiri Zaban Aur Shairi*, volume—III PP. 191-94.)

3. This does not imply the absence of the same in the Sufi tradiction, however. In the latter, this concept represented. neverthless, an all-powerful despotic presence paired with the conviction that monastries and solitudes were ideal places to find the "eternal transcendent being." See the Poetry of Lall Arifa, Sheikh Noorudin Wali, Arni Mal, Krishen Razdan. Habib, Aziz Darwesh and others.

4. The translation of the second line of the verse is from Raina, Triloki Nath. (select. and trans.), *An Anthology of Modern Kashmiri*

Verse (1930-60). (Published by National Defence Academy, Poona), Poona. 1972, P. 69.

5. Bazaz, Prem Nath. *Kashmir in Crucible*, (Pamposh Publications) New Delhi, 1967, P. 30. In this regard also see, "The Elemental Upsurge" in *The History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir : Cultural and Political. From the Earliest Times to the Present Day.*, (Kashmir Publishing Co.), 1954, PP. 151-63.

6. For a general study of political social and economic conditions of those times see, Brinckman, Arthur. *The Wrongs of Cashmere*, (Published by Thomas Bosworth) London, 1868, PP, 22, 24, 27, 28. Also see Thorp, Robert, *Cashmere Misgovernment* (Longmans, Green and Co.), London, 1870.

7. The famous poetess—Queen of Kashmir who lived in the picturesque little village of Tsandahar before she was married to Yousuf Shah Chak, the ruler of Kashmir.

8. A historian and a friend of Mehjoor who wrote on many fields of Kashmir History. In his paper published from Lahore he often expressed the grievances of Kashmiris against the Dogra rule.

9. Raina, foot note 4., P. 69.

10. See the poem 'Asun Gotsh' in Kalam-e-Mehjoor (Ali-Mohd. & Sons), 1956.

CHAPTER 12

The Constitutional Development in Jammu and Kashmir State

Prof. R.K. Kaul Bhatt

THE three regions of Jammu, Kashmir and the Ladakh frontier that constitute the present State of Jammu and Kashmir, were for the first time united in a single political entity by Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu in 1846. Gulab Singh was a Dogra of Jammu who joined the Lahore Court in 1809[1], His military capacity soon distinguished him from the ranks and earned for him the great favour of the Sikh monarch Ranjit Singh. In 1820, Ranjit Singh granted him Jammu principality and the adjoining hill tracts in Jagir[2]. Gulab Singh held Jammu in form for twenty six years, utilising most of his time in extending his possessions. He subdued the neighbouring chiefs one after another and annexed their territories in his fief[3]. After the death of Ranjit Singh, he adopted a more aggressive course and while the Sikhs were fighting each other he annexed Ladakh and Baltistan and by 1844 almost encircled the Valley of Kashmir[4]. The valley had come under the Sikh sway in 1819, and was ruled by Sikh Durbar directly, Governors being appointed for the purpose. Gulab Singh waited for an opportunity to claim it. This, he got when the first Anglo-Sikh war broke out[5]. During this Sikh war Maharaja Gulab Singh helped the Britishers in distintegrating and defeating the Sikhs[6].

This proved the undoing of the Sikhs and paved the way for the founding of the Jammu and Kashmir State. The victory in the war gave to the English the territories between the Sutluj and the Biyas and a claim to £ 1,50,000 as war indemnity. Such a huge indemnity was, however, unaceptable to the Sikh

Prime-Minister Raja Lal Singh. He offered the territories of Jammu and Kashmir instead. The idea was to ward off the indemnity as well as to deprive Gulab Singh of his possessions. Lal Singh was an arch-enemy of Gulab Singh and had old accounts to settle with him. The English on their part were reluctant to accept the offer for the territories offered were too far to be effectively controlled by them in the face of the Sikh hostility[7]. Also the Britishers believed in ring fence policy and were avoiding any direct confrontation with Russia. Gulab Singh offered to make good the indemnity if these territories were transferred to him in independent possession[8].

The Dogra-chief besides being a capable military general was a shrewd statesman. He had seen the way the Sikh Durbar had drifted after the death of Ranjit Singh. He had realised the significance of the rising strength of the British from the point of view of his position and that of the Sikh Durbar. As a matter of fact, he had much to fear from the Sikhs[9]. They had shown little regard for him after the death of Ranjit Singh. More than once they had attempted to deprive him of his dominion[10]. The British power, gnawing at the southern borders of the Sikh empire. Gulab Singh could foresee his emancipation from the Sikh hegemony and a deterrent to its domineering might. His strategy lay in cultivating the friendship of the English and at the opportune hour to strike to secure his safety from the tottering yet formidable Sikh empire.

The British who had found the Sutlej Campaign much more difficult than they had anticipated and the Sikh power much more formidable than they had imagined it to be[11], were on look out for a breach in the Sikh empire and seized the opportunities. On 18th of March, 1846 the Treaty of Amritsar was signed. Kashmir with the districts of Ladakh and Gilgit was ceded to Gulab Singh and he was recognised as an independent ruler both by the English and the Sikhs. "In consideration of the transfer made to him, the Maharaja Promised to pay to the British Government seventy five lakhs of Nanak Shahi' rupees.[12]. The Maharaja failed to take the possession of valley from the then Sikh Governor, Imam-u-Din

who defeated the Dogras in a battle at the foot of Shankra-charya hill On hearing this Gulab Singh appealed to the British for help and force was despatched under Sir Lawerence[13], who handed over Kashmir to Gulab Singh. The confusion and chaos of Lahore Durbar had resulted in the negligence and cruel rule of the Sikh Governors in Kashmir.

Early Dogras :

Gulab Singh was now faced with a stupendous task of consolidation of Government. The territories that had come into his possession had never before been united under one ruler. As a matter of fact, except for the valley of Kashmir, no other part of these territories had ever known a settled government. The lack of continuity in the past and diversity of population, climate and cultures and political institutions made the task more difficult. Gulab Singh settled down to the task with determined efforts. Rebellion was put down with a stern hand and order was restored in every part of the country[15]. The administration of Kashmir province called forth all statesmanship of the Maharaja. Once a powerful and prosperous kingdom, Kashmir lay ruined by five hundred years of misrule and political turmoil.

Centuries of suppression and slavery had robbed the country of all vest'ges of stability and civilization[16]. A regular law and order machinery did not exist. Its place had been usurped by prosecution and oppression. In the later days of the Sikh administration the state of affairs had deterriorated further[17]. The Maharaja took immediate and effective steps to restore law, order and security in the province.

Gulab Singh's rule was, however, little less than despotic. All the powers of the government and justice were concentrated in the hands of Maharaja.

He was the ultimate law-giver, the supreme head of the executive, the commander of the troops and the final arbitrator of justice. All that the Maharaja willed was law and all that he prohibited was crime. Infact, Gulab Singh "brought the

principle of a personal rule to perfection, and showed the people that he could stand by himself.[18]

In February, 1856 the Maharaja relinquished his throne, crowned his son Ranbir Singh and moved down to Srinagar where he established his headquarters as the Governor of the Kashmir Province[19]. Ranbir Singh exhibited great enterprise for administration. The administrative set up was reorganised into three departments viz, revenue department, civil department and the military department. Each deptt. was put in charge of a minister. The ministers functioned under direct instructions and control of Maharaja and were responsible to him alone. Amongst Ranbir Singh's achievements the most notable was the introduction of a uniform legal system in the State and the establishment of regular courts to administer justice. He got penal codes, "Ranbir Daudh Bidhi" based on the Indian Penal Code promulgated in the State. Law regarding criminal procedure and Civil procedure was codified and consolidated. The Maharaja however, continued to be the final arbitrator of justice. "Justice was inexpensive and it required only half a rupee worth of stamps to have a case heard by the Maharaja. He would examine and sharply examine the witnesses and often refer matter to a magistrate for investigation[20]. Indeed the administrative structure was still indiginous and continued to be broadly based on the personal rule of the Maharaja.

The British Intervention :

Under the Treaty of Amritsar the territories of Jammu and Kashmir were transferred over, for ever in independent possession to Maharaja Gulab Singh and "heirs male of his body". However, Article X of the treaty stipulated that the Maharaja recognised the supremacy of the British and in consideration of that agreed to pay a yearly tribute to the British Government and in token of such supremacy present annually to the British Government one horse, twelve shawl-goats of approved breed (six male and six female) and three pairs of Kashmir shawls[21]. For sometime the British followed faithfully the stipulations

of the treaty and left the Maharaja to himself. But after the second Sikh war, which saw the complete distintegration of the Sikh Power, was over, the English attitude towards theMaharaja stiffened. In 1848, Lord Harding wrote to the Maharaja that the nature of his internal administration aroused misgivings in the minds of the British Government and on that ground claimed the right to appoint a British Resident in the State[22]. The Maharaja stoutly refused to any such proposal pointing out that there was no provision in the treaty of Amritsar which gave authority to the British to appoint a Resident in the State[23]. But in spite of protests from him an officer on special duty was thrust on him. The officer on special duty, was placed under the immediate orders of the Government of India and the Maharaja was directed to address all communications to to Government of India through him.

Maharaja Ranbir Singh was replaced by his son Pratap Singh in 1885. Thereafter the British policy assumed a more aggressive character. In 1889, on the charges of plotting against the Crown the Maharaja was stripped of his powers[24] and council composed of Sir Amar Singh, the younger brother of Maharaja and four other members appointed by the Government of India, was entrusted with the task of the administration. The council was to function under the direct surveillance and control of the Resident. The Resident assumed final authority on all matters and was reserved the powers of the veto in regard to the decisions of the Council[25]

Soon however, it came to the surface that allegations brought against the Maharaja were false. The Maharaja protested against the treatment he had received at the hands of the Government of India. A stir ran through the Indian princely order. The issue went to the House of Commons and some of the members there defended the Maharaja[26]. A long controversy ensued. Finally the British attitude softened and the Maharaja was offered the Presidentship of the Council[27] which he readily accepted[28]. That, however, gave him little authority over anything. He continued to be less than even a figurehead. In a letter dated 29 January, 1895 to the Residency *Vakil*, he wrote "I am supposed to be no factor in

the machinery of the State and nobody cares for me". In another letter dated 6th September, 1895 he again wrote[86] I am not even allowed to sign papers for the Resident. I cannot even appoint a Tehisildar"[29].

In 1896, a further concession was given to him and he was empowered to send for proceedings of the Council and if he did not agree with any of the decisions or the orders of the Council, he was empowered to refer it back to the Council[30]. In 1905 the Maharaja secured a more substantial set of concessions. The Council was abolished and the Maharaja was given the authority to appoint a council of Ministers to aid and advise him in the conduct of the administration[31]. The Council was to consist of a Chief Minister and three other Ministers. The Ministers were to send the cases and their abstracts of the Maharaja through the chief Minister[32]. The abstract of the orders and their disposal was also to be sent to the Resident for approval[33]. In the exercise of their powers the Maharaja and the Council were also put under certain restrictions. Those were :

(a) the advice of the Resident was to be followed whenever offered;

(b) the budget was to be prepared in consultation with the Resident;

(c) no resolution of the former Council was to be cancelled or modified without the previous permission of the Resident; and

(d) appointments of all important officials were to be made after consultation with the Government of India.

In 1920, the Maharaja, now at the fag-end of his life appealed to the Viceroy for the restoration of his powers taken away from him in 1889 and partly restored in 1905. The Viceroy demanded in return an undertaking to the effect that Maharaja would seek the advice of the Resident in all important administrative matters. On the insistence of the Maharaja that such an undertaking would take away with one

hand that he was given with the other. The viceroy reduced the terms of the undertaking to include only matter regarding the frontier administrative changes. The Maharaja accepted the conditions and he was restored his powers in 1921[34]. In 1924 the Maharaja appointed an executive Council of five members with himself as its President. The council was entrusted with the administration of the State, Maharaja, retaining his inherent powers of veto and control[35].

Experiment with Constitutional Government

Pratap Singh was succeeded by his nephew Maharaja Hari Singh. The new ruler found himself in an atmosphere pervaded by considerable enthusiasm for political and constitutional reforms on the Subcontinent. Inside the State also an awaken-ing was beginning to come up. Hari Singh was a man of tntelligence. With the assumption of the throne he initiated a vigorous policy of reforms. Right on the óccasion of his Raj-Tilak, he announced the grant of various rights and concessions to his subjects. Immediately after, reforms were introduced in Police organisation, revenue administration and several other Civil Administrative Departments. A constitution was promulgated in March, 1927 under which Civil administ-ration was entrusted to a council of six Ministers. The Maharaja presided over the Council[36]. A special investigation Committee was appointed to recommend reforms in financial administration of the State, the administrative organisation of various other department and recruitment of the State service. An Anti-corruption Commission was appointed to enquire into the cause of the corruption in Government offices and recommended ways and means to eradicate it. In March, 1928 the Maharaja appointed a High Court of Judicature for the State.[37]

Simultaneously the public opinion was gradually getting organised in the State and movements for greater economic opportunity, security, political liberty and social justice were gathering support. The crude despotism, disorder and corrup-tion that characterised the reign of the early Dogras had sown many seeds of discontent, and resulted in State-wide unrest[38].

These were beginning to sprout in trouble[39]. Inspite of his best efforts the Maharaja could not stem the tide of this seething unrest. The year 1931 opened with regular agitation against the Dogras. The "All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference" as a Muslim Organisation which sought to uphold and protect the rights of Muslims in the State, played a leading role in the agitation. Unfortunately, communal influences inspired by Muslim communalism in Punjab worked their way into the agitation and it wasted itself on communal conflict.[40]

The agitation, however, created a deep impression on the Maharaja. After a shot span of repression, the Maharaja swung back to a more rational and positive attitude. A Commission of Enquiry later called the "Glancy Commission" was appointed to investigate into the causes of the agitation (unrest) and examine the grievances of the people[41]. While the investigation of the Glancy Commission were in progress, a Constitutional Reforms Conference was convened by the Government to examine the issue of further constitutional reform[42]. Already a Franchise Commission had been appointed to explore the possibilities of establishing legislative assembly and the grant of the right of franchise to the people.

In accordance with the recommendations of the constitutional Reforms Conference and the Franchise Commission, the Jammu and Kashmir Regulation No. 1 of 1934 was passed by the Maharaja. The Act provided for the establishment of an Assemby—to be called, the Jammu and Kashmir Praja Sabha. The Assembly was to consist of 75 members of whom 33 were to be elected[43]. Franchise carried high qualifications and only six percent of the people became entitled to vote[44]. The Sabha was empowered to ask questions, introduce resolutions and legislate on such matters only as were specified for its purview. Power to legislate with regard to the rest was reserved by the Maharaja for bimself. The Sabha was also empowered to discuss the State budget but vested with no powers to spend any portion of the revenue[45].

In the beginning of 1935 the leadership of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, which has now grown into

the biggest political organisation in the State, was convassing support for the broadening of the scope of the Conference. A large section of its leadership strongly advocated for the inclusion of non-Muslims in the Conference. Much of the resentment having died down, the futility of communal conflict had come to the surface now. Its sole field was the institution of a powerless assembly, though it had sown deep seeds of prejudice and distrust in the public mind. In 1938, in a convention held at Jammu the Conference adopted a resolution demanding 'Responsible Government[46] and invited the non-muslim population of the State to join it. A year after, in another convention held at Srinagar, the Muslim Conference was formally converted into 'National Conference'[47].

On September 7,1939 the Maharaja ordered the repeal of the Regulation No. 1 of 1934 and promulgated the Constitution Act of 1939. Under provision of the Act, the Executive authority continued to be vested in the Maharaja.[48]. In civil administration the Maharaja was to be assisted by a council of Ministers. The Prime Minister was to be the president of Council. The Council was to hold office during the pleasure of the Maharaja and was responsible to him alone[49]. The Council was empowered to promulgate orders and ordinances in case of emergencies and when immediate legislation necessary[50].

The legislature of the State was to be constituted of the Maharaja and a Chamber to be known as the Praja Sabha.[51] The Praja Sabha was to consist of 75 members; 40 of whom were to be elected and the rest to be nominated by the Maharaja[52]. Of the elected members, 7 wereto be elected by special constituencies representing Tazimi Sardars, Jagirdars, Land holders owning land assessed to land revenue exceeding Rs. 250/-per annum and pensioners receiving Rs. 100/- or more as pension per month[53]. The tenure of the Sabha was fixed at 3 years. The Sabha was empowered to legislate on all matters except those which related to the Maharaja and his family, relations with the State; treaties, conventions and agreements between the State and the British Government or

any other foreign power, frontier policy including those relating to Gilgit and Ladakh; Jagirs of poonch and Chinani, the rights and privileges of the 'Jagirdars' and Illaqadars: organisation and control of State forces; Mazoor Department, Dharmarth Trust and the provisions of the constitution Act itself. The Maharaja also reserved the right to specify such other matter as he would deem fit to be excluded from the purview of the Sabha[54]. The annual State budget was to be laid down before the Sabha by the Council. Any financial bills which sought to impose, increase or reduce taxes, regulate the borrowing of money, giving of any guardntees by the Council and declaring any expenditure to be the expenditure charged on the revenue of the State was not to be introduced or moved in the Sabha without the previous sanction of the Prime Minister.

Provisions were also made under the Act for the establishment of a High Court. It was to consist of a Chief Justice and two or more other judges. The Chief Justice as well as the judges were to be appointed by the Maharaja himself. The high Court was vested with orginal jurisdiction over all civil suits of which the valued exceeded Rs. 10,000 and appellate jurisdiction over all civil and criminal suits[55].

The Constitutions Act also provided for the appointment of a Board of Judicial Advisors. The Board was to be composed of as many members as the Maharaja would appoint from time to time. The Board was to advise the Maharaja for the disposal of such civil and criminal appeals from the decisions of the High Court and with regard to such matters as the Maharaja would choose to refer to the Board for advice.

In 1942, the Maharaja got another Commission of enquiry appointed to review the working of the Constitution[56]. Rai Bahadur Ganga Nath, the Chief Justice of the State High Court and the Chairman of the Commission was asked to make recommendations to secure "the safety, integrity any security of the State, and for the efficient and progressive character of its administration". The Commission was also asked to recommend measures with regard to :

(1) the increasing representation of the State subjects in the administrative services :

(2) the development of the economic resources of the State and its people leading to a higher and healthier standard of living;

(3) adoption of measures to eliminate corruption;

(4) rural uplift and

(5) economic rehabilitation of the Frontier Districts of Ladakh and Gilgit.

The Commission invited various political organisation in the State to send their representatives to participate in its deliberations. The deliberations of the commission were how-ever, protracted and irregular as a result of which much of the enthusiasm with which it had commenced work, died down. The National Conference which also had sent its representative to participate in the work of the Commission, recalled its representatives from the Commission.

In 1945, the Maharaja by proclamation offered to appoint two Ministers of the Council from amongst the elected members the Sabha[57]. The aim was to send up a diarchial system of Government. In October, 1945, the ministers were duly appointed. One of the Ministers was from National Conference. As was anticipated the diarchy did not work. The popular Ministers had little power to do anything. The Composition of the council and the position of the Prime Minister in it actually rendered them impotent. The National Conference Minister resigned from the Council only after a year's stay there[58]. In 1946, the Conference launched the historic Quit Kashmir movement and demanded the dissolution of the Dogra autocracy. Unrest had been brewing in all along the State after 1931. Revolt flared up everywhere. The Maharaja met it with a sudden and severe policy of repression[59]. The leaders of the National Conference were imprisoned and an imposed calm was restored in the State.

Partition and After :

The partition of India shattered this imposed calm. With other Indian princely States, Jammu and Kashmir was also released from the British paramountcy. The princes were left free to decided their relations with the two dominions and to acceed to anyone of them. The Maharaja made no such decision. Instead he offered a standstill agreement to both India and Pakistan.[60] The Government of Pakistan accepted the agreement. The Government of India advised the Maharaja to send his Prime Minister or any other Minister duly authorised to negotiate a stand-still agreement at Delhi. Soon, however, Pakistan changed its attitude and adopted a more aggressive policy to force a decision regarding accession on the Maharaja. The State was blockaded, supply of Petrol, foodgrains, kerosine oil, salt and other commodities was cut off. The Second line of communication was Pir Panchal Road which connected the provinces of Jammu and Kashmir. But this road was not used for any trade link.

This created an economic crisis in the State. On 22nd October, 1947, Pakistan sent hoards of barbarous men of N. W. F. province, demanding subsidiary from Pakistan which they used to receive from the British Government in India before partition to invade Jammu and Kashmir[16]. These were followed by regular Pakistan Army. The aim was to annex Kashmir by force. Maharaja Hari Singh had an insufficient army and the raiders had no difficulty in coming upto the outskirts of Srinagar and in taking the control of Poonch, Mirpur and Bimber in Jammu province. The whole Government was paralysed. Maharaja Hari Singh hurriedly released Sheikh Abdullah and other National Conference Leaders. Shiekh Abdullah was asked to form the National Government and to raise the popular resistance against the Pakistan invasion. On the invitiation of Shiekh Abdullah Maharaja Hari Singh started dialogue with India and ultimately signed the instrument of accession with India. The relation between the State and Union was to be governed by a special clause of the Indian constitution "Limited". It gave India control over the Defence, Communication and Foreign Affairs of the State. The Maha-

raja issued a proclamation for convening a Constituent Assembly for the purpose of framing a constitution[62].

In July 1950, the Maharaja delegated his powers to his son Yuvaraj Karan Singh and himself left the State. In April, 1951 the Yuvaraj by a proclamation ordered the convening of a Constituent Assembly[63]. Elections to the Assembly were held in September. The Assembly was inaugurated in October, 1951.

On 20th November, 1951 the Assembly amended the Constitution Act of 1939 and stripped the Maharaja of most of his powers[64]. Under the amending Act, the legislative powers were vested with the Constituent Assembly untill other provision were made by or in accordance with a law made by the Constituent Assembly. The executive powers which continued to be vested in the Maharaja, were to be exercised by him on the aid and advice of a Council of Ministers. The Council was to be collectively responsible to Assembly. The Maharaja was thus reduced to the position of a nominal head.

In June, 1952, the Basic Principles Committee of the Constituent Assembly, which had been asked to make a report on the future of the hereditary rule of the Dogras, recommended its abolition and proposed the replacement of the Maharaja by an elected head of the State. These recommendations were adopted by the Constituent Assembly on June, 12 1952 in the form of a resolution. According to the resolution the Head of the State was to be elected by the Legislative Assembly of the State and confirmed in his office by the President of *India*. The Head of the State shall be a person recognised by the President of the Indian Union on the recommendation of the *Legislative* Assembly of the State. The recommendation of the *Legislature* in respect of recognition of the Head of the state *shall* be made by election. Ordinarily the Sadar-i-Riyasat' was to remain in office for a term of five years. He was to exercise, such powers and perform such functions as may be *prescribed* in the constitution to be framed by the constituent *Assembly*, and until such constitution was framed by the *Constituent Assembly* and until such constitution was framed

he was to exercise such powers as were vested in the Maharaja under the Constitution of 1939 as amended by the Constitution Act of 1951. The hereditary rule of the Dogras was abolished in November, 1925.[65] Yuvaraja Karan Singh was elected the first Sadar-i-Riyasat of the State.

IN THE FEDERAL STRUCTRE

The instruments of Accession signed by the Maharaja stipulated the transfer of three subjects i.e. Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications to the Union Government. The Maharaja reserved the residuary powers to himself. Any further adjustments in the respective spheres of authority of the Union Government and State Government were to be determined by subsequent agreements between the two Governments. Accordingly when the Constitution of India was framed in 1950, special provisions were included in it from the Jammu and Kashmir State.[66] Under these provisions the Parliament was empowered to legislate for the State in regard to those matters in the Union list and the Concurrent List, which in consultation with the Government of the State were declared by the instrument of Accession. The other provisions of the Constitution were to apply to the State with such exceptions and modifications as the President would in consultation with the State Government specify from time to time.

Need had, however, been felt slight after the accession of the State for a more rational adjustment of the division of powers between the two Governments. Besides considerable public opinion had come to favour the extension to the State, of the provisions of the Constitution of India regarding Citizenship, Fundamental Rights and the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of India. The feeling was widespread that the people of the State were deprived of the rights and liberties under the Constitution of India.

The issue was taken up by the Constituent Assembly of the State in June, 1952. Shortly afterwards, a delegation of the members of the Assembly was sent to Delhi to discuss the issue with the Government of India. A fresh agreement, later

called as the "Delhi Agreement" was arrived at between the two Governments regarding the residuary powers that would vest in the State, the flag of the State, the position of the President of the Republic, Citizenship, Fundamental Rights, Jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, Financial Integration of the State of emergency powers of the President. The agreement could not be implemented due to the political crisis preceding to dismissal of Shiekh Abdullah from office.

After the reshuffle in the Governmet in August, 1953, the Basic Principles Committee and the Fundamental Right Committee of the Constituent Assembly of the State conducted joint deliberations for about a month in order to define further the division of powers between the Central Government and State Government. The decision taken were placed before the Constituent Assembly in February, 1954. The Assembly conveyed its recommendation to the Government of India and on 14th May, 1954, the President of India issued the co-nstitution (Application of Jammu and Kashmir) order 1954.[67]

The following provisions were interalia under the order :

(a) Provisions of the Constitution of India regarding citizenship were extended to the State.

(b) Provisions of the Constitution of India regarding Fundamental Rights were also extended to the State subject to such restrictions as the Legislature of State deemed reasonable. Besides, no law with respect to preventive detention made by the Legislature of the State before or after the commencement of the Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir State) order was to get nullified on the ground that it was inconsistent with constitutional provision regarding the Fundamental Rights. However any such law was, to the extent of such inconsistency, to cease to have effect on the expiration of five years from the commencement of the order.

(c) The right to make special provisions with regard to the agrarian and economic policy, and in respect of

socially backward classes were reserved for the State Legislature.

(d) Rights to legislate with regard to the permanent resident of the State, their rights and privileges in respect of employment under the State Government, acquisition of immovable property in the State and settlement in the State were also reserved for the State Legislature.

(e) The application of the constitution of India with respect to Emergency Powers of the President of India were also made applicable to the State with the exception that no proclamation of Emergency made by the Union Government on the grounds of 'internal disturbances or imminent danger thereof, could have effect in relation to the Jammu and Kashmir State unless it was made at the request of or with the concurrence of the State Government.

(f) The provisions of the constitution of India regarding official languages were also extended to the State.

These provisions were however, restricted to :

(i) Official languages of the Union.

(ii) official languages for communication between the State and other States or between the State and Union.

(iii) The languages of the proceedings in the Supreme court.

The Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) order 1954 lay down the basic framework of the relationship operating between the Union Government and the State Government. Some further amendments and modifications have now been undertaken and the provision of the Constitution of India regarding financial integration, jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, jurisdiction of the Election Commission have also been extended to the State.

Marking of The Constitution

Meanwhile, the Constituent Assembly of the State had appointed a Drafting Committee to prepare a preliminary Draft Constitution. The drafting Committee completed its work in October, 1956. The draft Constitution was taken up for discussion on 10th October, it was adopted by the Assembly on 17th November, 1956. This Constitution is in force in the State at present.

In its preamble the Constitution re-affirms that the State is "an integral part of the Union of India." The system of division of powers by the Presidential order, 1954, which are incorporated in Article five of the Constitution reads; The excutive and legislative power of the State extends to all matters except to those with respect to which Parliament has power to make laws for the State uuder the provisions of the Constitution of India[68].

The Constitutiion vests the executive authority in the 'Sadar-i-Riyasat[69]. The Sadar-i-Riyasat is elected by a majority of the total members of the Legislative Assembly and is confirmed in his office by the President of India He holds his office during the pleasure of the President; ordinarily he is elected to the office for a term of five years. In the execution of his functions the 'Sadar-i-Riyasat' is aided and advised by a Council of Ministers which is headed by a Prime Minister in all functions except those pertaining to the appointment of the Prime Minister and other Ministers and Deputy Ministers and the proclamation of a State of emergency in case of the breakdown of constitutional machinery of the State. The council of Ministers is collectivety responsible to the Legislative Assembly.

The Legislature of the State is composed of the 'Sadar-i-Riyasat' a Legislative Assembiy and a Legislative Council[71]. The Legislative Assembly is composed of one hundred members chosen by direct election and on the basis of adult sufferage. 25 seats in the Assembly are left vacant for the people of the areas still under the occupation of the Pakistan.

The Legislative Council is composed of 36 members of which 11 are elected from Jammu and 11 from Kashmir including Ladakh, six members are nominated to the Council by Sadar-i-Riyasat to secure representation of socially and economically backward classes and persons having special knowledge or practical experience in the fields of literature, science, art, cooperative movement and social service. The rest are elected by local bodies, teachers, constituences etc.[72].

Due emphasis is laid by the Constitution on the need to ensure separation of the judiciary from the executive[73]. The High Court is the highest tribunal of justice. The Chief Justice as well as the other Judges are appointed by the President of India after consultation with the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and the Sadar-i-Riyasat (now Governor). The High Court has both original and appellate jurisdiction. Its appellate jurisdication extends to both civil and criminal cases. Article 103 of the Constitution empowers the Court to issue prerogative writs and orders such as hebeas corpus, mandamus, prohibition, quo warrant and the like. The High Court also has the power of superintendence and control over all courts subordinate to it. Article 105 of the constitution empowers the High Court to transfer any case to itself, if the court is satisfied that the case pending in any subordinate court involves a substantial point of law as to the interpretation of the Constitution. The court is empowered to dispose off the whole case itself, or determine the question of law and then return it to the subordinate court with a copy of its decision for disposal.

Chapter IV of the Constitution embodies the Directive Principles of the State Policy. These directives lay down that the prime objective of the State policies should be the promotion of the welfare of the people, and the stablishment of a social order 'wherein all exploitation of man shall be abolished and wherein justice social, economic and political shall inform all the institutions of national life. Accordingly the State is to strive to ensure for all citizens right to work; basic minimum wage, better working conditions and relief from economic distress for all women, equal pay for equal opportunity

in all social, educational and political matters, maternity benefits and special protection against discourtesy, defamation, hooliganism and other forms of misconduct. For all children free and compulsory education, medical care and emancipation from abuse, and for all old and infirm persons old age pension, social insurance and social assistance.

The Constitution also provides for Public Service Commission for the State[74]. The members of the Commission are appointed by the Sadar-i-Riyasat for a term of five years. The Commission is charged with the function of conducting examinations for appointment to the services of the State, giving advice on all matters, relating to recruitment to civil services standards and principles to be followed in making appointments and promotions and transfers from one service to another, suitability of candidates for such appointments, promotions, transfers and disciplinary matters affecting civil services.

Since 1957 upto present times the constitution has undergone ten amendments from time to time. One of the 10 amendments, the sixth amendment Act of 1965 introduced a change in the executive of the State. The office of Sadar-i-Riyasat was changed in the Chief Minister. The existing Sadar-i-Riyasat was to hold office as Governor until the remaining period of his term for which he was elected as Sadar-i-Riyasat expired. After this the Governor shall be appointed by the President by warrant under the hand and seal[75] instead of getting appointed by the State Assembly by majority vote as was procedure in case of Sadar-i-Riysat. The qualification for appointment as Governor in Jammu and Kashmir State were to be the same as required for appointment as Governor in any other State of Indian Union. His functions and powers were similar to that of the other Governors. He could be dismissed or transferred by President of India.

In case of Chief Minister the change was introduced only in the name to bring it at par with other Indian States. The

functions of Prime Minister in J & K were similar to that of Chief Minister of any other State. Thus the change in the name from Prime Minister to Chief Minister did not practically introduce any change in the Functions and Powers of Chief Minister of Kashmir. He continued to be the leader of Lower House and his Office Cabinet. As regards other members of the Cabinet and Ministers of other ranks they continued to have the same functions and powers as they enjoyed before the 6th Amendment. This amendment did not effect the representation of different factions and social groups in the Cabinet and Legislature. Also, from time to time some other amendments were introduced in the constitution wherever necessary.

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41. On 12th November, 1931 Maharaja Hari Singh appointed Sir B.J. Glancy of the Foreign and Political Deptt. of the Govt. of India as the Chairman of the Commission scheduled to go into the grievences of the people.
42. Report of Kashmir Constitutional Reforms Conference, 1932 p. 2.
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44. Election Regulation No. XIV of 1933, J & K Praja Sabha Election Rules.
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68. Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir part V.
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CHAPTER 13

Ladakh, The Land of Gonpas

S. S. Gergan

Ladakh known as Western Tibet to the European, Huna Desh of the Sanskrit, Bhutan of Kashmiries is known as LADAGS to the people of the country, it has a gross area of 45,762 square miles, a little more in area than the provinces of Jammu and Kashmir valley put together. Exceedingly complex Chain of the Himalaya traverse east and west, between these ranges there are vest sandy valleys, the basins of extinct lakes, the Tethys of Suess, through which the Indies, Skayak, Zankar, Swus, Dras and the Shigar Valleys flow.

The district is divided geographically into three parts.

(1) The Higher valleys situated at a height between 13,500 Ft. to 16,000 ft. above sea level.
(2) Central Ladakh valley is situated between 8.500, 11,500 ft.
(3) Lower Ladakh valley or the Baltistan between 6,700 ft. to 7,800 ft.

The Kingdom of Ladakh was known as Naris-kher-sum which comprised the province of Purang, Guge, Spiti, Lahaul, Kulu, Zanakar, Central Ladakh, Purig (Kargil). The present Ladakh is only 1/3 of the Greater Ladakh, as Gugs and Purang area except the village of Menser was very craftily taken by the central Tibetan Government and Spiti and Ladakh was taken from the Dogras by the British to have a direct approach to wool producing Changthan and for political reasons.

The Tibetan platanes as known to the world are not actually platanes as in the real sense but are elevated valleys between 13000 to 16000 ft or more. There are number of land locked

salt lakes, biggest of which is the Pangow lake. The Indus known as Singa Khabels to the Tibetan speaking world rises in such a valley North of Mount Kailash, glides down lazily through the beds of such extinct lakes covered with bushy grass and Dama bush (Coregans varicloer). The people are nomads, live in tents made of Yaks hair, rare sheep, goat, Yak and horse. Wool Pashmina, sheep, goat and lake are salt exported to U.P. Himachal, the Punjab and Baltistan. In olden times sulphur, borax and gold were exported. The Mahabarata gives an account of various rarities presented to Yudhisthira by Kings of the East. The Khasas the people beyond the Indus brought was Tibetan Gold dust, the famous pipilika or the aut-gold. The whole of Indus valley especially the upper Indus produced gold of good quality which were exported to India, Persia even upto Theg-Jalung and Theg-Serling is famous for gold.

The changpas are of Tibetan stock. The occupation of the Chaithan and Central Ladakh by Tibetan nomads is very recent i.e. of tenth century. Before the Tibetans, the Indus valley down to the limit of Baltistan was occupied by Rman people of Austro-Asiatic by language distinct from Sino-Tibetan, who had Indianized themselves in adopting Buddhism and Ludian way of life with Sanksrit and Brahmi as Sacred language. The Roman or the mon were great builders of temples stupas, irrigation channels and cultivated the giant naked barley the mustard, pulses and peas upto an average height of 15,000 ft. Now the temples, stupas, the irrigation channels are in river, the once cultivated fields have merged with the brown desert except the idols carved in stone. The present people, Chanpas are all nomads, so there are very few Ganpas in the region. They are very hardy, and weather the winter in tents, enjoy than endure their climate. They consider Leh as a better place and Kashmir un-healthy. They have a keen sense of direction, annual movements of the stars and planets and the habits of wild animals. They are great story-tellers. Top volumes of Kesar Saga is recited by rotes in blank verse for nights together. The music and dance of the Chanpas is quite different to that of Central Ladakh and Baltistan. Their music is of trechaic

Metre and of Chinese scale and suitable for qinch step dance. Both men and women dance together in double rows to the music of a single three stringed Banjo and the songs of the dancing party. The theme of the songs are mainly in praise of nature, the perpetual glaciers, the golden eagle, the mythological while line of the glaciers and never the obscence, sensous love songs.

The famous masked religious dances are held each year in each Gonpa.

In winter Chanthan is extremly cold, dreary and desolate, but in summer the people of Bhutan, of Kunawar, Kulu Lahoul, Punjab Central Ladakh and Central Tibet Cengregate for the bartar of cotton cloth, sugar, gur, tea, torches, pearl, turgoise, rice, Ata, appricot, horse mule, etc. with wool, pashmina, Shahi-Tosa, Sheep, goat and have a regular market at Cab. A little above Nyoma-Mud the Indus leaves the Chantham and enters through a deep gorge flanked on each side by high precipitous granite mountains known as Ron-Chhugyud for a distance of about 60 miles, the valley of Upshi opens out into Central Ladakh, which is about 40 miles in length and 10 to 20 miles in width. Leh the Capital of Ladakh is situated almost in the centre of this open valley and is widest at this point. It has been the seat of Gyalpo or the King of Ladakh or the seat of the Government of the Mons. There exist no historical details about any Mon King as the country had Republic Government and it continued till conquered by the Dogras.

Buddhism had been prevaleant in Ladakh from before the beginning of Christian era, and the country was known as the Moryul or the country of Rman or Mon. The Mons had developed a script of their own derived from the Gupta Script which is very similar to the cursive Tibetan, and supposed to be the basis of the present Tibetan Script. The Mons had attained great perfection in sculpturing colossal statues of the Chamba (Maitriya) 25 ft. high carved in hard granite at Sankhu and Malbe exist to this day. Stupes built in the time of Ashoka and Kaniska have been located at Tiri, Suru and in Zansher. The Lotsavan (Translaters) of Na-ris-Kher-Sum

were responsible for translating huge bulk of the scripture of the Buddha and commentaries, from the Pali and Sanskrit under the guidance and assistance of Kashmiri Pundits. Naris-kher-sum has produced 23 Lotsavas, the greatest of whom is Lotsava Rincheu-Zanbe, who translated and composed hundreds of bodies. He was the greatest of all in all time in Naris-Kher-sum or in the whole of Tibetan speaking world. This happened when the people of Central Tibet steeped in ignorance, head-hunting and canibalising due to natural barriers Ladakh had very few enemies and invaders, as such lead a very peaceful life and busied themselves in the construction of Lhalhangs (Temples) Chhed-tren (Stupa) Mane, structures containing the six worded Mantra Om-Mani-Padma Husi, in stone, stucco, Copper, wood silver and even in gold and copying out illuminated scripture of the Buddha in the letters of gold silver, copper on specially prepared parchment known as thin-shog 3 to 4 ft. in length and 9" in width. Books and Mantras for the masses were produced by Xyloprinting. The paper, gold silver, copper and ordinary link were produced locally and the Cover boards exquisitely painted or carved with intricate design or mythological gods, goddess etc and the blocks for the Xyloprinting and the fast paints and colours were produced from the indigenous material. Books were not only compiled or written on the Buddhistic philosophy, Tantric lent were written on medicine, veternary science, science, Chemistry, astronomy, astrology, art, literature, grammar, poetry history sagas stories short and long and on most obsene subjects, in short no human aspect was left out. No Tibetan speaking people has developed, the Tibetan language as the people of Ladak. The Ladakhies have three sets of language —the common language, the elegant style and the classical or the book language. The first two are in only the form common use among the people while the last is only used in the books-for instance for bread in the colloquel it is called Tagi, in elegant form Don-Kyir and in classical form Pag-Teb.

The Gonpas and the Chapel of a hamlet is adorned tastefully with big statues or statutes of Buddha or Mahyanic god and goddesses, dieties moulded in stucco or brass, copper

silver and gold and the walls decoratal with beautiful paintings of the Buddha in different Assans in mellowed and subdued colours and the family deity and Guardian gods like Mahakla or the Pehases in ferocious mood in blazing colours.

The most famous calligraphist Nam-kha-spal-gon from sabu village situated 4 miles from Leh said to have copied 1,85,407 books etc. for his king Singe-nam-gyal. He had copied the Kahgyur and the holy scripture of the Buddha the life of Buddha in the letters of gold silver and copper on specially prepared volume called thin-shog. The quality of the volume, the metallic ink came in for great test when the Dogra invaders in 1834-36 they destroyed many gonpas and used the leaves of these valuable holy books for ceiling and roofing material for newly designed Government buildings and fort at Leh. When these buildings were pulled down due to senile decay in the last thirties and even in 1952-53, they had stood the century of mud earth and natural weathering and came out in state of good preservation and they could be read. The time of Gyapo Singe Mangyal was the golden period in known history of Ladakh.

My people are a literate people, so far as mother tongue is concerned but now there are no scholars or callgraphist with the calliber of Latsava Rinchen Zaube and Namkha-spalgon. it is due to the fact that Ladakh received no attention from the Dogra rulers. The first High School in the district was opened by the present Government on the 15th September 1952. It may interest my reader that the first News Paper "Ladags Phona" in the Jammu and Kashmir State was started in Leh in 1903.

Ladakh not only rendered service to Tibet but attracted scholars from Europe, in early 1800 a Hungarian Scholar Alexander Csmo de Kores after mastering almost all the European languages left Budapest on feet and after crossing deserts the bandit infested middle East, came to Ladakh and spent about 12 years in Dzenkal Goupa and Phuktal Gupa in Zansker and Kanam Goupa in Beshekar State. He lived as

a lama and learnt Tibetan and Buddhist Philosophy from the Gergans. Now his work lies in the archives of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Ladags land Tibet have produced galasy scholars but no one could match Lotsva Rinchen Zube. He was born in Sapha-Tra (Earth-Male-Horse yur) corresponding to 1857 A.D. in the village of SKYU wan-ratnis Puran. At the age of 13 he was ordained and at the age of 18 he travelled through Kulu, Mahasangala near Lahore and came to Pandrethen the then Capital of Kashmir and learnt Pali, Sanskrit, and studied numerous treatises (Sastras) on the Mantraana (SNags) and works belonging to the Sutra Class—A prominent scholar, he translated many texts and sutras as well as mantras, composed extensive explanation on the Prajnaparamita and the Tantras and other rituals. He attended on seventy five panditas, and heard from them the exposition for the numerous treatises on the Doctrine. He attained the highest realization. In Nariskhorsum (Greater Ladakh) he constructed four Buddhist Universities (Chheskher) 188 smaller Temples and stupas of the Nyandes type.

Our King is considered the incarnation of one of the gods and is worshipped as such but in termperal matters he is like a father and head of the family. As such the custom, law, administration of justice was quite different from that of Central Tibet. The justice and the administration was not left in the hand of a despot, but was entrusted in the hands of the most intelligent, wise, experienced sixty members elected from all over the kingdom. They were required to reside in suite of rooms given to them in the 600 roomed palace at Let with the king. Each village had their own Panchayat, who dealt and decided petty quarells. More serious and cases of criminal nature which could not be decided by the Panchayats were brought to the Royal Court known as then. Theg-Chhen the Great Judgement Hall. The king, the queen along with the Ministers and the 60. Rganmi, elders heard both the parties orally and the judgement was given in writing punishing or acquiting the alleged culprit. The eccelesiastic had no

jurisdiction or interference in the justice as they had influence in the middle age in other countries.

All work and no play was not the life of a Ladakhi, the kum-drum of court life, construction of Manes, Chod-tren and religious mantras were interspaced with a game of polo, archery, horse race mask dance in the monastries and group dances by special Court dancers, the Takshes, drawn from the best dancers of the country. The dancers are not the professional dancers nach girls and temple dancers but the sons and daughters of the zamindars, gentries and the aristocrats. Dancing is considered as an art and not the profession for the Bhands and professional dancers and low caste people character. Polo is the national game, almost every village due its polo ground, enclosed and kept for the purpose. The king or the Chief whosoever he may be come in procession to the ground, and take their post on a raised platform or pavillion in the centre of one side. Then the Chief sitting down has the sides made up. Each man gives his whip or pole stick and these are paired, a little boy who knows nothing of the stall of the owners of the ship seperate them putting down one on the right and one on his left. The two heaps represents the sides. Polo is not without music, the band consisting of kettle drums a pair of fifes or shehnai or more a long horn plays the "Riding Tune", When the players are upon the ponies they collect in the middle of the ground, the ball or pole is thrown in their midst, then comes a metee, after amusing some nimble handed one finds the ball is taken out by successive strokes, when a race begins the opponents try to hook the stick, but he sends the ball through the goal which consists of two huge round stones. Sending in the ball through the goal is not enough, the scorer or his team has to pick up the ball dismountir g or riding, so there is yet chance for the other side to strike the ball out and carry it away. The music is played nearly the whole time, when a goal is scored the strain is changed. The player who picks up the ball takes off at full gallop, when he is about the middle of the ground the ball is thrown into the air and hit hard with the stick, it is called the "Daphog". Every time a goal is scored the sides are changed.

If he hits hard the ball the Shahnais send in the tune of praise, and if misses the hit or drops the ball sarcastic strains are sung. At the close of the game the players congregate near the pavilion, the musicians also collect in front of the platform and sends in the strain of "Lo the Conquering Heroes cone" and the spectators and the players cheers and shout. The defeated party is required to dance or present the stake in the form of fruits, Chhang or Tea, as decided before the start of the game.

Polo is played through out the year but Archery is done in the Spring and sometimes in early Summer. Members of a certain Mohalla choose a shady popler, willow or appricot garden with a flat open piece of ground about 100 yards in length. A target of black painted raw hide with a Bulls-eye made of white or painted earthen Saucers is mounted on a mound of earth. A shamiana is pitched and teams are formed by ballot. A pair of archers come down from each sides shoots at the target. The points of scores are recorded. Music is played through out the period as in the game of polo. The archer who scores and breaks the bulls-eye is garlanded with a khatags, the ceremonial silken scarf and at the close of one round he and other scorers have to give a dance. Chhang, the national bevarage, a light beer, tea meals are served throughout the day. At dusk the game is stopped, singing and dancing begin. The women wives, mothers, sisters and children all in coloured costumes take part in the function. The women do not touch the bow and arrow, but they sing and dance. Guests and some spectators are also served with tea and Chhang.

CHAPTER 14

Cultural Heritage of Kargil

Kachoo Isfindyar Khan

Right from the top of the Zogilla to the Nalla of Lamma Yuru from Rangdum—Lingshed to the Sanghum of Indus, the entire area was known as Purik in the ancient histories of Ladakh and Tibet. Around 155 B.C., it is said that Thigum Chanpo of Tibet was killed by Lunpo-Longnum, his three sons fled from Tibet and one of them named Niathichan came into this area from Purangside. He had his army with him and frightened the people of this area and became the ruler, so this region was called Purik, because their first Raja had come from Purang. I have in my mind one more interpretation for this name. When we see the map of this area, there are four distinct Nallas; the Drass Nalla, the Suru Nalla, the Kangi Nalla and wakha Nalla : These Nallas are very long but small in breadth—The word Purik in Tibeten means Pipe or Tube Becaust the entire population of Kargil is situated in tube like valleys and Nallahs, that is why it has been named as Purik.

Officially Purik is known as Kargil at present. As the Headquarter is at Kargil town, the entire area is called Kargil. But the people of Ladakh and Baltistan still call it Purik.

As the thresh hole of Ladakh and Baltistan, and transit camp for travellers from Tibet, Yarkant, Khutan, India and Kashmir, Purik had a great importance in olden time.

The climate of Kargil is milder than that of Ladakh. The villages situated on the banks of Indus and on the Sangham of Suru and Drass rivers, are very warm, there are ample of fruit trees. The snow falling is heavy and the rain fall is sufficient. But it does not help in irrigating the fields. The crops are subjected to Irrigation.

Ethonology

Kargil is divided into four natural regions. They are the Drass Valley, the Suru valley, the Indus Valley, and the upper Sindh valley or Kangi Nallah. The Drass valley and the Indus valley are inhabited by the Dard race. And the population of other areas are mainly Balties mixed with Dards and the Tibetan race. Though the Darda have their own language and culture yet the entire area is bounded by a national language i.e, Purki. The population of Kargil is above fifty thousand including Zanskar. The majority of the population belongs to the Shia Muslims. The National language, Purki is written in Tibetan script. About the people of Kargil Feddric Drew writes "they have the Turanian caste of feature, something resembling to the Chinese race. They have it not perhaps in its greatest intensity, but still unmistakably", He further writes that "there are Baltis inhabiting the valleys of Drass Suru and the tract about Pashkim, which is called Purik. These are not geographically separated from the main body of their countrymen in Baltistan, but they have some slight differences". Regarding the nature and character of these people every foreign writer has praised. The same author whom I have just now quoted, writes, about these people, "they are cheerful, willing and good tempered ; They are very ready for a laugh, they are not quarrelsome, they are by no means ingenious, simplicity is characteristic of them. They have by no means poor understandings : they are not muddle headed".

Historical Background

The early History of this region is quite obscure. There is not any Historical evidence that throws light on the origin of these people from where and when they came here and how they settled here. For this we have to rely on the tradition and folksongs only. These are the only sources from which we can elicit some historical facts.

From tradition and folksongs it is known that earlier two men, Dustak Paldan and Sirgia Motik with their fellow men

came into Purik from Kashmir, and lived in a cave of Paskim. They cultivated some land and built a house, Sirgia Motik Kher at Mazan Thang. It is said that they constructed the two canals of Kurbathang and Saliskoot, but they have been deserted now.

Meanwhile a Buddhist Lama Naroo with Guru Ur-gian Padma, arrived here from Zanskar. They took Sirgia Mutik and Dustak Paldan with them to Srinagar. On their way to Srinagar they caved an image on a rock at Stakbu in Drass Valley, which still exists.

At that time the Indus was blocked by falling a rock into it at Kachora in Baltistan and the river took the shape of a big lake. The water went back upto Khalsi. The sign of that lake still exist in the form of alluvial soil on both the banks of the Indus. When the water receded the aryan people from Central Asia who had reached upto Gilgit and Austore, proceeded towards Purik. These people were the Dards to whom the local natives call Brukpa (highlander), They settled in the valleys of Drass and Indus. Some people who came here from Gilgit were Saral, Hural, Baral, Lagus, Perchey and Bagcho and settled at proper Kargil, Sout, Baroo and Mungi.

Around that time the tribes of Tisuk and Gangasuk who were probably the (Mon) people and were inhabiting at Gigia, Tanche, Chemere and Sakti in Ladakh, arrived in the Upper Sindh Valley or Kangi Nalla and habitated there.

In the Suru valley migrators came around the same time. According to old tradition, it is said, that a person (Rong Lochan) from Rangdoo Balistan arrived here and lived at the opposite of Kanoor and named it as (Louchi) with the resemblence of his name. His posterities gradually spread in the Suru valley. In the time of Rong Lochan some people arrived here from Purang and settled in the Nalla of (Phoo). After some time, Khivakhilde arrived in Purik from Zanskar and settled at Paskim. His successers spread in the villages of Karit, Tacha, Kuksit, lochum, and skambo.

In the time of Sarel, who habitated the villages of Sout, a person named Thacho and Moghal Bag came here from Brushal Gilgit and settled at Phokar the (white catchment). Their off-springs cultivated the entire Phokar.

Halbi Kolal and Gota with their fellow Tribesmen arrived here from Brushall and inhabited at Wakha.

After some time a person, Dahni, came here from Gilgit and habited Dah-Bruk which is situated on the right bank of the Indus. Later on his successors cultivated, Darchikes, Cholichan, Silmo and Lhah-lung (the valley of Dieties). His son Gyal-Senghe is considered as the founding father of the Dards settlements.

These migrators were themselves independent of one another and were not united. That is why in about 155 B C. Niathichan invaded Purik and became the first ruler of Purik.

Among all these migraters, the founders of Dah and Hanu were latest, therefore they have been able to preserve their race, language, customs and traditions to some extent.

The early migraters changed and deserted their original customs and beliefs.

The Dard race inhabited in the Indus Valley still observe some customs and rites in the memory of the founding fathers renew their memories. They celebrate a mela in the memory of Gyal Singhe. The festival is known as Shandum. The story regarding this celebration is like this, that the wife of Gyalsinghe tried to give poison to her brother-in-law but she, frightened, gave the cup to her husband and he died. Because he was the reputed and respectful leader of the trible, every body tore out their cloths, threw awāy their ornaments and began to weep and lament for him. They represent this story in the form of a melo-drama.

Linguistics :

The national language is Purki. The mother of this language is tibetan, but later on it has been influenced by many other

languages. An inhabitant of Kargil can, have a conversation with the Baltis, and Ladakhis. This shows that these languages are inter-related to each other very closely and their mother is Tibetan, for instance, a cow is known as Balang in Kargil, the Baltis call it Bang. Similarly we call Ri-Bia to mountain partridge and the Ladakhis call it Ribja but in writing they use Ri-bia. It is written in Tibetan script.

Literature :

Our ancestors had left a great legacy of culture and tradition. We have a good deal of folksongs and folk-tales. I think that the folk literature of Purik is as rich as that of Ladakh and Baltistan.

These folksongs and the folk-tales are the remnants of the past, artifacts of by gone culture and their significance for the scholars lay in the glimpse they provide into the mores and attitudes of 'primitives' or unenlightened men. Folk generally meant, peasants, and it could be easily assumed that the creations of this sector of society are picturesque and valuable, essentially as an expression of 'folkwisdom' which the more educated members of the society may appreciate despite its acknowledged crudities. These folk-songs and folk-tales throw ample lights on the ancient culture and civilisation of this region. They reflect the essential norms or values, ethical, spiritual and social, which form the life-spring of our culture.

Our folk literature has a glorious tradition of folk-songs and folk-tales, which has its origin in the dim past. The un-known poets did not spurn, the resources of native idioms and rhythms imbedded in the folk-literature, while expressing or endeavouring to express the noblest ideas in the noblest words.

Folk Songs :

We have varities of folk-songs and they are sung at certain occasion by the people. Some professional singers are very much expert in singing these songs with the accompaniment of a (Drum) Daman a fluit and a (Harib) Shah-Nia. Though we cannot draw a line of demarcation between these folk-songs,

yet broadly speaking, there are religious songs, festival songs, love-songs and epic songs. The epic songs are known as Kessar Saga, and these epic songs contain various expedition and adventures of the (Kessar) the holy diety and divine ruler of the Bon, religion. They are songs of thrills, adventures and wisdom.

The religious songs, were formerly, the religious songs of the Bons. But when the people were converted to Islam; especially Shia Muslims, they wrote Na-ads and Manqabats. Now a great portion of our literature is comprised of these religious poetry or Qassida and Marasias.

Some varieties of folk-songs contain the true core of democratic literature, giving expression to the innermost feelings of the masses, their joys and sorrows, hopes and desires, fears and dreams. For instance during the reign of Ahmed-Malik of Chigtan, Sultan Sayed of Kashger invaded Ladakh, and he devastated from wherever he passed. Because the Raja of Purik was weak, the people could not do anything but to pray their holy dieties. There is a song named; Thaley lago, which I have translated like this :

> From the top of the Thāly pass, A huge army is proceeding, O ! our holy Dieties, Save us: They are devastating the lands; they led stray their horses; unto the fields, and the horses are jumping unto the sky. Oh our holy Dieties Save us from their Jaws.

The love songs are very beautiful and full of life and feelings. In expressing her innermost feelings and pure love, a girl asks her lover :

> O ! my Raja Thou are going to Hanu-Handamisgmn (a hunting place) For Ibex hunting Tell me, my love; What will bring thou; From there......Oh : No, I need not the Roasted meat of Ibex, I need thy love, thy eternal love which is harder than rocks and longer than Rivers.

Similarly under Purik Sultan or Thi Mohamed Sultan or Suru-Karsey, Purik became a powerfull kingdom in Ladakh.

He conquered Purang and Kishtwar and annexed them into Purik. At this occasion the people sung this song with full fervour and joy :—

> Awake Oh king Because, when thou are awakened And no sooner did thou take The Golden Spear in they hand The whole Purang and Leh (Kishtiwar) Are under thy feet.

There were two dynasties in Purik which ruled this land. These dynasties were the Gasho dynasty of Sout, Paskim, Drass and Chigtan, and the Thi Dynasty of Sura-Karsay- Though for short intervals the Rajas of Ladakh invaded and annexed Purik into their kingdoms. Yet Purik has remained independent for a greater period in the history.

Historical Monuments :

There are many Historical monuments in Purik. The castle of Chigtan is situated very picturesquely on a steep cliff on the bank of tributory to the Indus. Several rooms are no longer accessible owing to the dilapidated condition of the whole building. Many doors and windows are decorated with artistic wood carvings. It was built by Tsring Malig of Gasho dynasty before 1550 A.D.

Some other ruins of old castles can be found in the Suru valley and Sout Nalla.

Some Buddhist monuments are also worth seeing. There is a Chamba, carved out of rock at Mulbek. It is believed that it was carved in the time of Lossawa-Rinchan Zangpo. the great Tantrict Translator. A similar Chamba is in the Suru valley.

Social life :

The people of Kargil live in mud houses made of stone and mud. But now the middle class people are constructing buildings on modern pattern. Generally the houses are two storeyed but at some places we find three storeyed buildings also. The lower storey is used for the cattles. As the entire

population is agriculturist they breed varities of cattles such as horses, cows, sheep, goats and yaks. The cross of yak and cow is a unique animal known as Zo and Zomo. The peasants use Zo for ploughing their fields and carrying loads from one place to another. The Zomo gives milk which is far better than that of cow in quality as well as in quantity. The people churn the milk and produce home made butter which is very nutricious and tasteful. The horses are used for riding as well as to play polo. The wools collected from the sheep are used in the fabrication of local Pathus which is the only material for preparing Gunchas.

It is an interesting thing that the Boddhist Dards do not use even do not touch cow milk. They hold cow in abhorrence: look on it in much the same way that the ordinary muslims regards a pig. They will not drink cow milk nor do they eat and make butter from it. Nor even will they burn cow-dung the fuel i.e. so commonly used in Ladakh and Tibet. Some cattle they are obliged to keep for ploughing but they have as little as possible to do with them. When the cow calves they will put the calf to the under by pushing it with a forked stick and will not touch it with their hands.

As a means of purifying instead of washing, they burn the twigs of pencil cedar, and let the smoke and thescent from it come over them and inside their clothes. It is believed that they belong to the Shin caste as they observe the custom of the Shin regarding cow to an extreme degree. They observe the practice of polyandry, sometime a woman has as many as five husbands.

Yet these restricted customs are gradually dying out with the advent of modern air.

Though there are signs of their original culture, the Dards, the Indus have amalgamated with the Bhots and they obey the lamas as their spiritual leader.

Dress :

The common dress is a long woolen gown or Guncha. The people prepare it at their local hand-looms and use local breed

sheep wool. The dresses of the Muslim inhabitants are Gunchas, Kamerbands and fur or woolen caps. The footwears are local Papoos and Kratpas. The females wear black Gunchas with Kamarbands a scarf on their heads covering their hair and temples. They wear sakpa (goat skin) on their backs.

But the dresses of the Dards, especially the Buddhist Dards are very interesting and peculiar. The males wear black Gunchas usually short with girdles and a flattened local boot. A conical shaped Cap decorated with flowers and colour strips. They wear pigtails, almost touching their heels. They keep their faces unshaved and never wash their faces and bodies. The females wear white gunchas without girdle. The brims of their gunchas are decorated with multicoloured threads. Their caps are mini treasure houses and one can find many interesting things on them. They sew Shells, Corals, turquois and hundreds of needles on their caps. Besides this they wear bunches of flowers and feathers on their caps.

The muslim Dards of Drass have their own national costume. The female wear white Gunchas with a large Kamaerband almost covering their bossoms. Being Muslims they wear scarfs covering their hair and necks.

Despite these rich cultural heritages and historical back-grounds Purik now, has shrinked to petty communities strugg-ling for existence. When Zor-Awar-Singh the Spa-Sallar of Gulab Singh, invaded Ladakh, he killed Mohmad Ali Khan, the Raja of Chigtan and his brother Kalon Rahim Khan. The former was killed in the battle of Cho-lungs thang and the latter was beheaded at Karmang. The fall of these two brothers proved the fall of the entire Purik. The people were persecuted and exploited to the utmost degree. The whole social, ethical and spiritual edifice of our culture crumbled down under the pressure of the Dogras.

But thank god, that we got independent and the people were relieved from the burden of exploitation. The very sound of independence infused a new spirit into the people of that region and they joined their hands with our countrymen for peace, progress and prosperity.

CHAPTER 15

The Evolution of Kashmir's Textile Industry

Prof. Abdul Hamid Malik

Some writers[1] believe that the textile industry existed in Kashmir in the early neolithic age, that is more than 3000 years B.C. This opinion has been formed on the basis of a tile which was unearthed at Burzahom ten miles east of Srinagar by Pandit R.C. Kak some time ago. The tile carries the figure of a lady and, it is supposed that she was dressed in "transparent robes" in neolithic age. Accordingly they say that the pit dwellers in the pre-historic age in Kashmir were really familiar with the art of manufacturing cloth. But it is suprising how cave men or the pit dwellers could really produce cloth. One can observe for himself those pits or walled caves under the ground at Burzahom Village not far away from Srinagar. It is not possible to spin and weave cloth in them: Light does not enter those pits except through a triangular exit from above in one corner, nor is there enough space for weaving. Far from the fact that the cave men did not at all know the technique of weaving cloth, it is quite probable that the spinning wheel and the loom, etc, had not been even invented in that primitive age. The pit dwellers were most probably the hunters and the fishermen of the prehistoric times, may be, the so called Pishacas or the Yakshas or their ancestors, viz, the legendary races of Kashmir's mythology.[2] They inhabited the foothills of the Harvan forests and the shores of the Dal Lake obviously because these surroundings provided them with a rich potential for their subsistence, A large number of bones, bone-tools, tiles bearing numerous figures have been excavated at Harvan and Burzahom,[3] and even now the place, the pits and their walls are littered with bones. The tiles depict the

cro-Magnon or the late Paleolithic art probably as old as 8000 to 10000 years B. C[4]. There is no indication of metals, written language, domestication of animals etc. The shape and size of pits or caves at Burzahom indicate group living in natural families, the neolithic art of Harvan is indicative of socio-religious rites of hunting tribes.

The abundance of bones all around the pits establishes the truth that the pit dwellers were the hunters who depended on animals not only to feed but also to clad themselves with their skin.

The origin of the textile industry of Kashmir is, therefore not so remote as has been presumed. Nor is Kashmir's civilization the oldest in the world. However. it is certain that in the general course of evolution, transition from the hunting and the fishing stage to the pastoral and the agricultural stage did take place in Kashmir. Myth and legend lends support to this view, the prevalence of Naga-worship, the cow-worship and even the veneration of the plough are indicative of various stages of economic development. The textile industry in its primitive form developed in Kashmir around 500 B. C. to 100 B. C. In the first and 2nd century A. D. people were dressed in simple clothes.[5] However it is difficult to ascertain as to whence the spinning wheel and the loom came to Kashmir People started a civilized life at least one thousand years before the Christian era. Kashmir has also witnessed considerable influx and invasion of foreign races and tribes in ancient times. The ecological change and the climatic conditions must have necessiated as well have facilitated the development of the woollen industry at the very dawn of civilization' The silk industry is also of a very ancient orgin, the earliest historical evidence of developed woollen and silk industry in Kashmir is given by the well known Chinese piligrim, Hieun Tsiang who visited Kashmir in 630 A. D.[6] i. e. only five years after the Karkota dynasty had come to power. What impressed the Chinese traveller most, was the variety and the quality of woollen and silken textiles produced in Kashmir. He says

> "The names for their (i. e. the people of northen India) clothing materials are kiap-she-ye (Kansheya) and

> muslin (tieh) and calico (pu), Kansheya being silk from a wild silk worm; ch 'u (or ch 'u)-mo (Kshanma), a kind of linen; han (or kan)-po-lo Kambala), a texture of fine wooi (sheep's wool or goats hair), and ho-la-le-a texture made from the wool of wild animal, this wool being fine and soft and easily spun and woven is prized as a material for clothing."[7]

More than thirteen hundred years ago, Kashmir was producing fine cloth, silks, calico, linen, muslin and woollen cloth of soft and fine textures as described above.

The two and a half centuries of political stability, territorial expansion and great architectural activity under the imperial Karkotas (625 A. D to 855 A, D) must naturally have helped the further progress of the industry. But this period of fortune was followed by a long period of misrule and misfortune in the history of Kashmir. From 10th century onwards, there was no political stability, an era of social unrest, moral degeneration and economic decadence followed. Such a period was hardly conductive to the growth of industry. In the Kalhana's history of Kashmir, Raja Tarangani, which is essentially a political-history of kings and queens, there are only passing references about the textile indutry.[8] Woollen industry according to Kalhan had become localised in Pattna (Patan) during the 12th century A. D. There are references about the silk industry and indications of its existence since ancient times in Kashmir, On the whole one can infer from the available historical evidence that in order to meet the local needs of the people of the valley and in view of the difficult system of communication in those days, all sorts of textiles were produced in Kashmir. Woollen and silken cloth and probably even cotton cloth was produced. From the folk lore of that age it seems that cotton of a coarse kind was growrn in the valley. But there was nothing conspicuous about the textile industry so far as the rest of world was concerned. Not only geographical seclusion but cultural stagnation also became detrimental to the further development of the textile industry during long spell of centuries.

Due to internal disorder and confusion, Kashmir had remained cut off and un-influenced by exogeneous influences in industry and trade for a very long time. To make matters worst the invasion, loot and plunder by Zulchu at the end of the thirteenth century brought about complete ruin of the whole economy.[9] The Kashmir ruler ran away leaving his people in a most miserable condition. The people were frustrated and disappointed beyond all hope. Under such circumstances they yearned for and were eager to have a complete transformation of their entire socio-economic order, An imperceptible change crept into their minds and they were prepared to welcome a change.[10] This is the reason why the Sultans, the first non-Kashmiri Muslim rulers of Kashmir hardly met with any resistance.[11] Fortunately the change came for the better, the-barriers, which isolated Kashmir and the Kashmiries were broken one by one. In the process of the socio-political transformation the whole economy was revitalised including the industry. Particulary the textile industry benifitted the most. The silk industry which had become extinct was revived. New industries were set up and the famous arts and crafts were introduced under the royal partonage of the Sultans. Two hundred years later, that is, in 1540 A. D. Mirza Hyder Dughlat invaded Kashmir. In his book *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* this Mughal ruler records :

> "In Kashmir one meets with all those arts and crafts which are in most cities uncommon.........In the whole Maver-ul-Nahr (the contry beyond the river Oxus, i, e, Khorasan except in Samarqand and Bukhara, these are nowhere to be met with, while in Kashmir they are even abundant, This is all due to Zain:ul-Abidin."[12]

Further Mirza Hyder says that in the Bazars of Srinagar only textiles were displayed for sale.[13] Luckily the fifteenth century produced an illustrious king gifted with a keen imagination and foresight. He was Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin 1420-1470 A. C. popularly known as Bad Shah or Great King. It was he who introduced most of those industrial arts and crafts which have won for Kashmir world fame. He reorganised the silk industry and Kashmir began to export silk as far away as Damascus.[14] He also laid the foundations of the Carpet Industry.

Pandit anand Kaul a Kashmiri historian writes :[15]

> "Zain-ul-Abidin turned Kashmir into a smiling garden of industry inculculating in the hearts of the people sane conception of labour and also implanting in their minds the germ of real progress. He introduced correct measures and weights.........promoted commercial morality. integrity and industrial righteousness, It was through these virtues that the Kashmiris successsfully carried on their shawl and other trades worth crores of Rupees annually with distant corners of the globe at a period when Kashmir was an isolated country and communications with the outside world were very difficult."[16]

The development of some important textile manufacturess of Kashmir is briefly summarized below :

SHAWL INDUSTRY

The World famous Shawl Industry was found towards the close of the fourteenth century. This great industry owes its origin to a simple but interesting incident, The great saint, Mir Syed Ali Hambani visited Kashmir in 781 of the Hijri era (Muslim calender). He left for Turkistan via Ladakh after a stay of two years i. e. in 783 A. D. On his way along snowy mountains of Ladak, he was provided with socks made of Pashmia-wool. The soft and warm wool attracted his attention and, therefore, on his return he took some wool to Srinagar where he presented it to the King, Sultan Qutab-ud-din 1374-89 A. D. who got it manufactured into a shawl.[17] However, the use of the word, "Shawl" t o represent the various textile products manufactured from the imported Pashmina wool became common during the reign of Mirza Hyder Doughlat (1540—1550). Once his cook, Nagaz Beg, presented him with a double piece of shawl which he obtained from Khoqand. his native place. The king was surprised to see the soft and the beautiful shawl rather Doshalla and, therefore, he too encouraged the development of the shawl industry. The embroidered shawls also owe their origin to as interesting

incident. Once Nagaz Beg in a fit of anger slapped his servant. The blood drops fell on a plain piece of shawl. The marks left on the shawl caught the imagination of Nagaz Beg and, therefore, he innovated the embroidered shawl with red and green spots.[18] Subsequently, the Kashmiri craftsmen introduced a large number of patterns and beautiful designs resulting in rich and variegated texture of Shawls.

Shawls may be divided into two principal classes, namely the loom-woven called *Kanirshawl* and the *Amali-shawl* the designing of which is worked in imperceptible stiches in an elaborate pattern.[19] The *Amali-shawl* was invented by Ata Baba a Kashmiri craftsman during 1783-85. Shawl manufacture eminently suited the artistic faculties of Kashmiri craftsmen and soon it attained such an excellence that a shawl of 1½ square yards could be twisted and passed through a finger ring. Hence Ring Shawls which were of very delicate texture also began to be produced[20]

The manufacture of Shawls reached its zenith during the Mughal Period (1586-1750) A,D,. They were produced on a large scale and exported. Mughal Emperors were lovers of art and beauty and they extended their full patronage to shawl manufacture. The number of looms engaged in shawl manufacture increased from 2000 at the begining of the Mughal period to 40,000 during the reign of Jehangir. Akbar was fond of Shawls and he took personal interest in their manufacture.[21] The following principal kinds of Shawls were manufactured during Mughal Period.

(*i*) *Tus-Asel* ? with a grey colour inclining to red, some shawls had a perfectly white colour. These excelled in lightness, warmth and softness.

(*ii*) Safed Alcheh also called Tarehdar.

(*iii*) Zardozy, Gulabetun, Keshdeh and *Culgha* were Akbar's invention.

(*iv*) Long piece shawls called *Jamas*.[22]

Bernier visited Kashmir in the company of Aurangzeb in 1665 A D. About Shawls he says.[23]

> "What may be considered peculiar to Kashmir, and the staple commodity which particularly promotes the trade of the country and fills it with wealth, it is the prodigious quantity of shawls which they manufacture and which gives occupation even to little children."

During the Afghan Rule (1750—1819) the industry improved as they were also fond of Shawls. But they introduced a system of taxation, known as Dag Shawl which ultimately resulted in the exploitation of the shawl weavers and the decline of the industry during and after the Afghan and the Sikh Rule.

The most notable development of this period was the extensive trade in shawls with Europe, Persia, Turkey etc. France alone accounted for 80 percent of shawl exports from Kashmir, U. S. A. took 10%, Italy 5%, Russia 2% and U.K. and Germany 1% each. In France, Kashmiri shawls had become a fashion of the day after Napoleon Bonaparte presented a Kashmiri shawl to his beloved Empress Josephine.[24]

In 1783, the number of looms engaged in the manufacture of shawls was 16,000 the number having declined from 40000 looms during the Mughal period. This estimate was made by George Forester who visited Kashmir during that year. The main reasons were the decline of the Mughal empire particularly its liquidation in Kashmir as well as the heavy excise duties imposed on the manufacture of shawls. But in spite of the heavy custom duties, the shawl Industry progressed and thrived as a result of enormous export demand from France and other European countries. Shawl has become a sign of prestige and an article of distinction in the well to do famlies of Europe and the kings and the queens, the princes and the princesses of both East and West had developed a fancy, nay even a craze for it.[25] A Shawl was sold even at a fabulous price of Rs. 12,500 in those days. It was a practice for East India

Company to present a Kashmiri shawl to Queen Victoria as a birth day present, to the queen. Even under the notorious Sale Deed of Amritsar, Maharaja Gulab Singh and his Successors had every year as an obligation to present three pairs of Kashmiri Shawls as a token of British Paramountcy in the State to British Government.[26] In short from the 17th Century upto 1870, Kashmiri Shawl dominated the world of textiles in the whole world.[27] Its possession had become a great sign of prestige and distinction, its trade brought huge profits and the industry provided employment to a large number of people in Kashmir. Moorcroft, who visited Kashmir in 1822 A.D. with a view to make a study of Shawl Industry estimated the average exports earnings of shawls at Rs. 35/- lakhs a year though it might have largely exceeded that figure before 1822. He says that there were at least one lakh women engaged in the spinning of shawl wool and about 50 percent of the total output was exported. A 26 percent ad valorem duty on shawls was collected by the Government before export.[28] For this purpose, a Dag Shawl Department was created. The existence of this department and the rigorous method of collection of the octroi excise and custom duties brought about the exploitation of and misery to the shawl weavers of whom a large number left Kashmir and settled in Punjab.

During the first quarter of the 19th Century, the imports of shawl-wool varied between 3 lakh lbs. to 1.5 lakh lbs. annually.[29] Shawl-wool was imported from Lassa (Tibet) Ladakh and Yarkand. The average daily earning of shawl weavers ranged between Rs. 15 to 5,.[30] Shawl-exports to Turkey, Persia Hindustan and Punjab had been badly affected by political events.[31] But with France and other European countries it was on the increase. The British policy towards the Indian rulers had proved detrimental to the shawl industry.

It is true that Great Britian had become jealous of the prosperous shawl industry of Kashmir during the early nineteenth century. Therefore, they wanted to follow an aggressive merchantilist policy towards this industry. This is borne out by the observation of William Moorcroft who was deputed by the British Government to Kashmir to make an on the spot

study of shawl industry as well as by Baron Hugel who visited the Valley during the same period, i.e., early 19th century. Moorcroft says :

"Conceiving that it would be possible for Great Britian to partake more largely in the trade in Shawl goods a very valuable portion of which is carried on through Bokhara and Yarkand with Russia, or even it would be practicable to introduce the manufacture itself into my native country. I devoted much of my time and thoughts, whilst in Kashmir, to the acquisition of information on every detail connected with the subject".[32]

The oppressive policy followed by the alien and the autocratic rulers with respect to the shawl industry and the fall in the export demand for shawls especially by France after her defeat in the France-German war in 1869-70, finally sounded a death.knell for this supreme industry of Kashmir. There were 27,00(weavers and 11,000 looms.[33] The weavers and the merchants were groaning under the heavy burden of exhorbitant taxes on shawls.[34] The demand having declined the average earnings of a weaver amounted to Rs. 8/- per month out of which he had to pay Rs. 5/- as taxes to the autocratic rulers. With Rs. 2/- to Rs. 3/- per month as his income the weavers was reduced to penury.[35] This intolerable condition compelled the shawl weavers to rise in revolt against the autocratic rule in the State. At the instigation of Pt. Raja Kak Dhar, the Head of the Shawl Department, the Maharaja ordered his troops to open fire on the poor shawl weavers who simply wanted to get their grieviences redressed.[36] Twenty eight shawl weavers were either killed or got drowned into the river.[37] Though subsequently, the taxes were reduced but the worst famine that followed in 1878-79 completely ruined the industry.

The late nineteenth century was eventful in the history of the textile industry of Kashmir. The decline of the shawl industry which had been thriving for centuries with huge profits, income and employment luckily coincided with the simultaneous revival of the silk and the carpet industries. Whereas t he carpet industry had been established during the fifteenth

century by Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, the silk industry was indeed of an ancient origin. Both the industries however, had a chequered career a long cycle of revival and decay and then revival again. In Kashmir cotton was also grown but it was of an inferior quality. Cotton cloth was manufactured in Kashmir during the 19th century. But this cloth was of a course variety.[38] However, a special type of cotton textile known as "Kodak" which was more or less fine was also produced by the Kashmiri weavers.[39] It was based on the local raw material. However, it was very durable. Cotton cloth was not produced on a large scale. In the past, brown cotton seed was imported from Yarkand and sown in Kashmir but its repeated sowing did not produce the desired results.[40]

SILK INDUSTRY—ITS REVIVAL :

Because of its ancient origin it is difficult to say whether the silk industry had an independent birth in Kashmir or it came here from China in early times. What matters, so far as its history is concerned is that the famous Chinese piligrim Heium Tsiang praised the silken textiles of Kashmir when he came here on a pilgrimage during 630-43 A. D. i. e. 1350 ago. He says mulberry tree was grown but its fruit was not taken by the Kashmiries. The industry languished for centuries and it was more than five hundred years ago that Kashmiri's Great King, Bad Shah revived and reorganised it again. The Mughal adventurer, Mirza Hyder annexed Kashmir in 1540 and he found this industry in a flourishing state. After Mughals (1585-1750) the industry again fell into neglect as royal patronage by the Afghans (1750-1842) was lacking.

A brief glimpse of the history of this industry shows that the industry has always needed the particular attention of the Government. In the absence of sound and efficient organisation, it has stagnated. Credit however, should be given to Maharaja Ranbir Singh (1851-85) for reviving and reorganising the Silk Industry of Kashmir in 1870. Subsequently during the rule of Maharaja Partap Singh (1805-1925) the industry was organised on modern scientific lines.

To begin with, in 1870, Mr. N. Mukerjee was appointed as its Director and two filatures with 470 reels were set up at Raghu Nath Pura (Naseem Bagh) and Cherapura near Srinagar. 127 houses for rearing Cocoons were built and the rears were given special encouragement for rearing of cocoons. While the industry was showing signs of progress, pebrine, a silk-worm disease caused great devastation in 1878 to silk worms. In 1892 the Industry was organised on modern lines as a Stale enterprise and Sir Walter Lawrence was put in charge of the Industry. In 1903, Mr. Thomas Wardle, an eminent English Sericulturist made a detailed survey of the industry and suggested various lines of improvement. Accordingly, machinery was purchased from Italy and the factory was set up at Rambagh in Srinagar.[41] By 1907, ten filatures were set up. The industry offered employment to 60,000 people and silk worth £ 100,000 was produced.[42] In spite of the great damage caused to the factory by fires in 1907 and 1913 the profits of the industry increased from 3.6 lakh rupees in 1902 to 12.5 lakh rupees in 1919.[43] Hydro-electric Power was used in the reeling of silk in 1908 for the first time. The Sericulture Department earned substantial profits immediately after the First World War.[44] But the boom was short-lived. The stiff competition with China and Japan and the dumping of silk by these countries in the European markets drastically lowered the prices of silk and deprived it of oversea's markets. The industry had to suffer losses. The Great Depression further accelerated the decline, the price of a Lb. of silk came down from Rs. 12.62 in 1967 to Rs. 3·94 in 1934-35.[45]

Fortunately, the Second World War reversed the downward trend, the overseas demand suddenly increased, and the price of silk jumped up to Rs. 95·00 per Lb. in 1944-45.[46] The sericulture Department earned huge profits and, therefore, the wages of the workers were also raised. The Rajbagh Silk Weaving Factory was set up in 1937.[47] By 1942, Kashmir was having the largest Silk Factory in the world, she was producing the finest silk in India and her silk was selling throughout the British Empire. The production of cocoons was boosted to 40,000 mds, and that of raw-silk 2.5 lakh Lbs. in 1940.[48] The quality of silk improved being comparable to the "Classical" of Italy and

"Petit extra" of France.

CARPETS :

The Carpet industry is of Persian origin Sultan Zain-ul Abidin introduced this industry into Kashmir during his reign (1420-1470) A. D.[49] He invited craftsmen from Persia and Samarkand to Kashmir and gave them all facilities in order to teach this art to Kashmiries. For some time the industry flourished but after some time it decayed and died.

The credit for reviving carpet industry of Kashmir goes to Akhund Rahnuma—a Kashmiri Muslim who while returning from Haj Pilgrimage in 1914 A. C. visited Andijan (Persia) where carpets were maunfactured. After learning the art of carpet-making he returned to Kashmir with carpet making tools and then taught this art to the Kashmir Craftsmen.[50]

The creative urge and the instinct of Kashmir craftsmen applied itself to the designing of new patterns of carpets. The beautiful natural sceneries of Kashmir, particularly the fauna and the flora soon found an expression involving and develo-ping new designs of carpets by the Kashmiri carftsmen. Some of the carpets produced were so magnificent in texture and so lustrous in design that they at once produced a magical effect on the mind of the observers. Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1819-42) could never fulfil his desire to see the beautiful valley and its lands-cape, But when a carpet, a masterpiece of art was present-ed to him, it produced such a magical effect on his mind, that he rolled himself into the carpet and exclatmed with joy that his desire to see Kashmir was just fulfilled.[51]

The most famous carpet of the world—an Iranian master-piece, *Ardabil* now preserved in a London Museum was repro-duced in Kashmir in 1902, was purchased by Lord Curzon for £100. Kashmiri carpets were exhibited in Chicago World Fair in 1890.[52]

Like the shawl and the silk industry, the carpet industry has seen many ups and downs over centuries of its existence in

Kashmir. With the termination of the Mughal empire and the decline of princely rule in India, the nobility and the aristocracy also lost their prestige and wealth. The carpet industry was naturally affected. The industry was almost going to disappear completely during the nineteenth century but for the initiative taken by some European firms. Towards the close of the last century Messrs Mitchel aud Co., Mr. Hadow and Co. and East India Carpet Company were set up as organised manufacturing concerns in Srinagar.[53] The use of silk yarn and the innovation of Aml-i-. pattern became very popular in U.S.A. and European countries.[54] A Kashmiri carpet with an Amli design was presented to Queen Elizebeth II, by the Govt. of India.[55]

However, the use of the imported dyes of aniline and alizarine type as well as the introduction of the "fashionable design" of European origin had an adverse effect on the industry.[56] Previously the imported Australian-Wool was used for tufting yarn.

The hand made carpet industry soon developed into the largest industry of Kashmir. Although the work is done by hand, the industry is highly organised and has all essentials of a large scale modern concern. The organised concerns have their own dying department, designing sections and Talim (hieroglyphic) writing units as well as trained and efficient management.

In 1931. there were six large firms engaged in this industry with 175 looms employing about 3,575 workers.[57] The industry as a whole both organised and unorganised (i. e. cottage workers) was providing livelihood directly or indirectly to 12% of the population of Srinagar where it was and continues to be localised.[58]

During 1930-31, the industry produced an output of the value of Rs. 18 lakhs per annum. Of this Rs. 6/- lakhs were paid as wages to workers.

The carpet industry was adversely hit by the Great Depres-

sion of 1929. The Swadeshi movement in India also affected the demand for carpets by the British people. In recent times the fall in demand for high class carpets, the growth of machine made carpets as well as the competition from substitutes and cheaper carpets of Mirzapur and Amritsar have all affected the industry adversely.

In 1971, there were 20 organised factories including six large scale concerns employing more than 100 workers each besides 673 cottage units mostly localised in Srinagar.[59] The industry offered employment to 7687 workers and produced carpets worth one crore rupees of which 90% were produced in the organised sector and only 10% in household sector. About 40% of the total output was exported to U. S. A, U. K. and Australia.[60]

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CHAPTER 16

Impact of English Life & Language on Kashmiri Life & Language

Alhaj Mirza G.H. Beg Arif

How universally true is the old Arabic saying, that the language of the ruler rules the language of the ruled and in doing so it changes the dominated people, in all spheres of life, out of recognition.

If perchance a noted Kashmiri were come to life again after a lapse of say fifty years, he would find himself completely out of tune with his surroundings in the Budshah square. For him the change will be complete.

He will not see men with turbans on their heads, with beard on their faces, wearing pherans, trousers and shoes of local make. He would expect muslim women to be in veils and panditanies in long pherans and dupathas and small circular collar shaned head gear.

He will find people running, as it is, in vehicles, and every thing in hot haste. The language spoken by the Kashmiris will also be partly foreign to him.

The past fifty years or so have brought about a revolution in almost all walks of life. It was mostly because of the domination of the British over Kashmir in particular, and on the whole subcontinent, in general. The vehicle for all this transformation has been the English language.

How true has Macaulay been in suggesting introduction of English as the medium of Education for complete subjugation of the people of India !

For Kashmir it meant change of one foreign language, Persian for another language, the English, with consequent over-all change in life of the people itself.

In the begining Kashmiries were reluctant to give up their old habits, and would not send their children to the schools. Maktabs run by Mullahs and patshalas, by Pandits were preferred, but gradually the shape of things changed.

For Government service people qualified in English were prefered. English became the court language. Injections, vaccination new medicines, surgery, hospitals, transport and other numerous new things started being looked upon as useful additions to the old life.

Gradually English started to replace Persian. English teaching schools sprang up. Pandits and Muslims began slowly, and reluctantly sending their sons to new institutions. Names and words of Persian origin started melting and vanishing. Ustad or Akhun became (Mashtarji) masters ; the 'School'; the jamaat, the 'Class'. The pheran was replaced by a coat and a waistcoat (Waskath) ; a Payjama by a Pant (Patloon) ; a joti by a boot, and Aukhun Sab Taquza by Mashtarji pass.

These changes were not looked upon with favour by the elders. They resisted and protested. But onward march could not be halted. The 'farsi qalam' changd its place with holder, the 'Siyahi' with blue black and after a while a pen and Independent took over the place of holder and blue black ; both in one, mat of the maktab vanished and chair or Kursi appeared, chalk (Chakh) and black board, began to be used by the teacher. 'Sabaq' became lesson or lecture, 'garden' revision copy or note book replaced 'Takhti'. Slate also appeared for use for arithmatic or math, English was taught as a subject called 'Angrizi.' The Kashmiri scalp cap changed into a "Safa".

The school going boys began to change in dress and style so much so that it invoked curses from the old and satires from the poets. A bard makes a girl sing "Dahi baji boot suit chori baji khraw, bichur mo haw, bichur mo haw, "O ! School going

and office attending lads, do not allure me by your suit and a pair of boots during the office hours and Khraw (Kashmiri) after four." Youngsters would not clean shave their heads, they raised the hair and got it trimmed in English cut (Angrizi cut) or fashion. They used perfumed oils and combed their hair ; a feminine act as regarded by their elders. Pandits merged their 'choty' into the hair of the head and all the young boys shunned the use of a cap and turban.

The educated young men clean shaved their faces, and give it priority even to morning prayers. Shave replaced the word Islah, the partial shave of the beard of the elders. Slowly and steadily the old type mud huts, with thatched roofs, changed places with bungalows (Bangla) with corrogated tin sheets as roof (teen) or shingal (Singal). Door-mats appeared near the entrances, particularly of the drawing rooms. Sofa sets began to be used. Teapoys armed chairs (aram Kursi), veranda chairs appeared on the scene. 'Button doors' began to be manufactu-red. Spring chairs and decoration pieces also became common. Compounds changed into lawns.

Style of buildings as well as nature of material for construc-tions also changed. Cement (ceemath) in different proportions started to be used with sand for building purposes ; raised plinths became order of the day. Previously no cement or 'chona surkhi' were used. Only mud was used in stones. For the wooden "dasa" concrete began to be used and generally the floor of the first storey was replaced by a cement slab and if a veranda, small or big was to be allowed, it was of iron bars and cement concrete. Bajri and cement withs and made the door of each room cemented. 'Chips' also began to be used.

Bath rooms fitted with Showers and lavatories with seats of glazed cement basins began to appear on the scene, and wash-basins also were added. Towels (Tawliya and soap (Lux, pears etc) came in vogue. Shampoo and powder also began to be used by gents and ladies alike. Miswak was looked down upon and instead tooth brush (Danda burush) and tooth paste or cream began to be used. Grandfather and fathers become Daddy and mothers mummy, khala become aunti or auntiji,

chacha or taya uncle or unclji, 'behan' became sisterji.

Pandit and muslim youth progressed alike on the road to modernisation Both became Sahabs and both started falling away from going to Mandirs and Mosques. In fact the more they, fell away, the more emancipated young men they were acclaimed to be. They frequented bars, clubs, cinemas and fashionable hotels and restaurants. They would have a peg or two of some drink for the sake of fun or just for keeping company of the friends. They would pay bills at the counter or to the bearer on production of a voucher with a tip. He says 'thank you' to the bearer or to any one doing something for him, and Shakes hand (handshake on meeting some body, or bidding farewell to someone. He welcomes, a friend with a 'halo' or receives a telephone call with a 'halo.' If it is a wrong number he says 'sorry' and the person at the other end says, 'It's all right'. These words constitute ettiquette these days.

The whole atmosphere of a home has undergone a radical change. The 'choola' has been replaced by a 'gas daan' (hearth) or a Stove. In using stove the housewife feels a little bother in keeping the pressure by pumping every now and then and removing the dirt by a "pin". She has no such trouble with the 'gasdan!' She prefers it to hearth and stove for this reason also that no soot accumulates on the utensils of cooking. She generally uses a "Cooker" which means speedy preparation and she can attend to other works till the whistle announces the pressure. If she wants to boil the material for a longer period, she keeps it there till it shows more than one pressures. She can use an electric 'heater' also for cooking purposes. She now knows everything about the electric current, its 'positive' and negative'; grounding of a wire ; 'fuse' that goes off some times and connection' that has to be re-established by replacing the 'fuse'. She also is careful about reading on the 'meter'. She knows how much 'power' is consumed by using different 'Voltage' lamps (lamp). She knows putting on and putting off the Power and uses "bed switch" on her "bed" for convenience. She takes off or puts on a 'plug' for a 'bulb' or 'heater'.

She knows the use of an electric 'press'. She gets her

woollen garments etc. 'dry-washed'. She uses 'Surf' 'Det' etc. for cleaning her or her husbands clothe's. She knits her Rubby's, Baby's, Daisy's, pullovers, high neck, sweaters herself. She has a knitting machine and a sewing machine in her house. In many things she is independent of a tailor.

A young mother does not feed her babies from her breasts but instead uses a 'feeder, in which, she knows how much water is to be added to pure milk with a small quantity of Sugar and some times of glucose. She at times uses dry milk-powder for tea (Lipton as she calls it) or 'coffee'.

A women does not now sleep on a mat or 'chattai' on the floor. No. She use a 'single' or a 'double bed'.

Like her home environment her habits and dress have undergone a tremendous change, she puts on a 'night suit' when she goes to bed and a 'scarf' on her head. She put on her clothes in the morning first of an ordinary make and of cheaper stuff but on preparing for a party, an office or a school or to see some friend or relative, she puts on golden rings of the latest fashion, and a 'necklace'. She puts on a 'sari' or a "dupatta' a shirt' or a 'blouse' and a bell bottom' for trousers. A non muslim lady generally uses 'frock' or a shirt with half sleeves; a sari or even a 'petti coat'. Both use the 'bras' to keep the teats in a fit condition. Nails are generally painted (Nail paint) 'lip sticks' are used and 'make up' is the fashion of the day.

If it is a marriage party, costly dresses are put on and a set of gold ornaments is used. Carrying a 'purse' is a must and in it often is a small mirror, stick or two of nail and lip paints, and some dusting 'powder'. A set or two of clothes for 'change' are also carried in a 'bag' or an 'attache'.

The young lady now is not shy and shirking like her mother. She makes all purchases herself and in-variably goes alone for shopping. She may even visit a 'cinema show', a 'play ; a 'picture ; an 'opera,' a 'drama' all by herself or with her husband, If she is a 'mem saheb' of an officer (Sahab),

she may enquire on 'phone' from the 'manager' of a picture house about the Play and may even ask for a 'reservation' of 'seats' or get a cabin 'booked' or reserved." She may go to a 'club' attend a 'cock-tail party' or a dinner; a 'lunch' to which she may be invited by a friend or some organisation. If she belongs to a forward or advanced family and is a maiden, she may go in for a dance with a boy friend. Though this is very rare in Kashmir, a backward state in that respect. A young women may not even know how much different she looks from her mother at her age. The mother, when young, could not talk freely to her father, elder brother or any other superior of the family, not to speak of strangers. She had a putch a dupatta on her head, a small earring (dur) or a bunch of 'Kanwajas' or a 'bala' in her ear, used a 'pheran' with a 'potch' cotton garment, attached to pheran, shirt and a trouser. From dusting the floor to cooking and serving young and old in the family, she would take care of the cattle and carry headloads of grass or shals, if she belonged to a tillers' family. In all other respects a girl of a town or a city resembled her. She could not go out without a 'burqa'. There was no cinema, no club nor moving about freely. Old norms had to be followed. Now there are all chances of meeting of the couple in a 'buss.' In any 'mughal' garden, in 'college' or an 'office'. Though the conventional marriages are still common yet the couple often exchange greetings in writing, on phone or on seeing each other. Instances of a lady driving a car or bicycling is quite common now and we find a college girl or a clerk ('kalarakh') etc. paddling like boys.

When married, a women would only feel the difference of four walls. She would see new faces, whom she had but to like, love and serve. She had to mentally suffer all that she came across from the curses and abuses of her mother-in-law down to the taunts and persecution of her other-in-laws. To suffer in silence was the sign of modesty, nobleness and good behavior. There was no escape from it. She had to carry on her head a 'qasaba' and a putch. A qasaba was a round thick folded cloth pinned on to a cap, studded with long round headed pins of various colours and sizes. Some gold or silver ornaments according to her position in society were

also adorned on this qasaba. A silk, cotton or mixed cloth was kept hanging from qasaba on the back side. The lady had to get her long hair twisted into what were called 'wankaz' and a mat like pattern was given to it, which would remain covered by the putch, except the temples on either side.

Hindu ladies wore a 'taranga', a flat, hard round cloth pad on their head and a piece of cloth broad in front and tapering down on the back and enclosing the long hair.

The old atmosphere has given place to a new one and the whole set of habits, dresses, mode of living, almost every phase of life has been effected by the modern ways of thinking, living and behaving. It is through English language and modern media of education, namely radio, cinema, television, schools and colleges that a new culture has been born in which only the background is Kashmiri and the spirit and the form are European.

The Kashmir Freedom Movement launched in 1931 also has a tremendous effect on the erstwhile backward Kashmiri. Till then only the upper middle class was affected by the modern life. Kashmiries felt a new throb of life, a fearless life, a bold confrontation with the Government of the Maharaja and his officers. Bullets 'jails', 'fines', 'canings', 'exiles', 'interrogation centres', 'leaders', 'agitation' 'stage', 'lecture', 144,19L (Marshal law) crept into the Kashmiri language without effort. People learnt to sacrifice life and property for a national cause. Till then a Kashmiri had suffered as an individual and had only earned for things for himself or his family. He became concious of his rights and rights of Kashmiries as a nation.

He agitated for 'public schools', 'hospitals' 'government services' 'for road', 'freedom of press', of 'platform and speech'. He fought for a 'legislature' and 'assembly' for 'adult franchise', right of 'vote' for electing his representatives, an assembly 'member' of his choice. He learned to convas or propagate about or against candidates understood what the effect of propaganda, meant. He asked the ruler to go, to quit Kashmir.

Men and women fought shoulder to shoulder.

The industrially advanced nations were forging ahead under the revolutionary changes brought about by new technology new scientific discoveries and inventions and new philosophies of life. They felt a forward thrust to and questioned the very existence of God himself, the validity of religious to preachers and preachings. All life seemed to have been thrown into a melting Pot. But is was a premature society of Kashmir who were struggling to wriggle out of the iron hand of a monarch, protected by the bullets of the British rule in India.

The more the Kashmiries fought for freedom, the more the English language and culture penetrated into their language and life. Volunteers (Volunters) were raised, 'conferences' were held, 'procession' were arranged, mass political education was given from public stages, and the nimaz congregation. The Kashmiries threw off the clock of monarchism, the 'jagirdari' and capitalism and achieved the goal of a democratic way of life.

Every day life on the other hand conitnued to grow on a systematic pattern towards partial Europeanization. More and more boys took to learning in schools and the medium of instruction continued to be English. English medium Schools mulitplied in number and those who could afford to send their children to these did so in large numbers and the rest of the children availed of free education. Life as a whole showed signs of drifting away from the age old customs and institutions.

The grip of Hakims also started loosening. Their treatment was looked upon as cumbersome. A patient under a Hakim was subjected to fast for days. Some times blood was drawn out of his body, and very often resort was taken to lessoning the quantity of infected blood, impure blood as it was regarded, by applying leaches. On 'Nowroz' the Iranian New year day, applying leaches and drawing of some blood from the body was regarded as auspicious and was thought to stand in good stead against disease for the ensuing year.

People understood the difference between the old ways of treatment of a patient and the modern methods of it. They felt the magic effect of 'penicillin' and other 'injections". They opted for 'pills' and drugs in bottles (hand botal) to boiling of herbs and preparing a sharbat home. They submitted to 'opertions' when a surgeon specialist so advised. They came to know the advantage of transfusion of blood into a weak body after operations or after a delivery through a minor or major operations.

Hospitals (Hespotals) started being looked upon as centres of cure where 'nurses' (compoodar) and doctors (Dokhdar) attended day and night to 'indoor' patients. The patients knew that the hospitals had 'bloodbank' and healthy youngmen and women came forward to donate blood or sell blood on payments.

'Bed' with blankets and beddings were arranged by the hospital management· Bread, butter, eggs, milk and other essential foods were provided for and in T. B. hospitals more care was taken about the general health of the people. For doctors 'private practice' became very lucrative and those who could afford preferred paying fees to them and also bribes to surgeons and the hospital staff.

The Kashmiries who perviously thought fruit as a source of bad cold during winter understood its importance as an article of food. Oranges carried by a Kashmiri sometime ago were regarded as a sure sign of somebodies indisposition and people started finding out what was wrong in the family !

Fruit juice of several kinds of fruit crushed together and vegetable meat or chicken soup gained due importance in the menu of a convalescent person. Going to healthy resorts like Tangamargh Gulmarg, Pahalgam, Kukarnag also became a part of programme for improving one's health.

People kept some well known medicines, capsuls or pills, expectorants and antibiotics ready at hand gave themselves first aid more so at places were doctors could not readily

available. Bone dislocation cases and fractures used to be treated by to illiterate people by very crude methods. People realized the difference between trained surgeons and binders (watan gor).

A surgeon would take 'x-ray' 'photos' and know for certain the position of the bones. He would keep the fracture or the joint properly bandagged.

Life on the play grounds also changed completely. Kabaddi matches, hide and seek games and the like were forgotten, coaches and referees were employed to guide and control playgrounds, 'Foot ball' 'hockey' and 'cricket' became national as also international game. 'Trophies' were offered to the winners and sometimes the entry to the 'Stadium' was controlled by 'tickets'. Those who played these games well earned people's applause and became heroes loved by masses. Stadiums were built in cities to accommodate thousands of spectators and balconies for dignitaries to watch the players.

On special occasions mass drill of school going boys and girls were arranged, as also cultural shows were shown. Some times military forces exhibited their special displays a 'march-past' was arranged to honour the chief guest or a V. I. P.

Sports came to be liked by the players and the common folk alike. Nowadays 'cricket teams' 'football player's and hockey players organise themselves as private 'teams' and play where ever playground are available. Challanges are thrown to opposing teams that playground are made available in the interest of the health of the people and kept clean and tidy. Stadiums are also being looked after. There are sports committees everywhere to arrange annual sports, offer trophies and 'cups' and invite teams both from within and from outside to play matches or 'tournaments'.

'Olympic games' have also become a world feature. These are held on a very large scale and various advanced nations participate in these. Nations feel proud of their successful teams. Success and failure are regarded as honour or defeat

of a nation. 'Gold medals' 'Silver medals' and even 'Bronze medals' are offered accordig to the merit of a player or a team.

'Badmintion', 'Tennis', 'Basketball', and 'Table tennis' are also played on both national and international level. Kashmiries have recently stepped out of the mountainous walls and have participated in some matches on All India Competition basis.

Municipal Committees as also Town Area Bodies are run on Democratic lines. The Councillors are elected by the people's votes. A city or a town is divided into zones called 'wards'. Each ward elects a councillor and Councillors in turn elect a 'Chairman' a 'Vice Chairman' and Secretary (Saktary) among themselves.

Roads in the city are maintained by the Municipal committees, sweepers are employed in reasonable numbers to keep roads clean of horse ond cow dung, both being allowed to move about freely and also keep drains covered so that no unwanted thing happens. Though, much remains to be done, yet it is commendable that cities and towns are gradually offering better look.

There was no Press at all during the monarchical regime but now it is existence and free to a large extent. The number of daily papers is slowly increasing but there is much room for growth of the weeklies. Periodical are also doing well but Kashmiri papers have proved short lived and there is only one periodical Shiraza published by the Academy of Art and Culture and languages, that has been in existence for some years now. There is an 'Editor' for a newspaper, as also a 'printer' and 'publisher and each paper carries an 'editorial.' There are 'press correspondents.' 'VIPs' give 'press conferences.' A few papers bring out special numbers; one or two give 'cartoons' which have become quite popular.

There is a reasonable large number of writers and poets in Kashmiri language and quite a few are of excellent standard. But the Kashmiri speaking people unlettered and the educated alike, are averse to reading and writing Kashmiri. A habit common in nation that remained dominated for centuries.

A Kashmiri has not in reality got over his slavish mentality even though seemingly he lives in a democratic society. He speaks Kashmiri when at home, writes to his friend in Urdu and uses English in his official correspondence. He calls his kids by pet names such as Pinky, Rosy, Ruby, Baby, and the children in turn call him Daddy and their mothers as Mummy. sometimes Dadyji, their aunts as aunti or auntiji, uncle as uncle or uncleji. He calls his father as papa or papaji. His father's friends he also calls uncles.

When some malicious article or news item appears in a paper the maligned person sues an editor for 'defamation.' There is a Press Act according to which a paper has to behave. A newspaper has before appearing to seek approval from Dy. Commissioner' and fill up a form of 'declaration.' He has to get his paper 'registered' so that it can avail of the benefit of 'quota' of paper on concession basis.

Advertisements mean good bit of business for a daily newspaper. Those papers who side mostly with the policies and actions of the Government get Government advertisements and financial assistance as well.

News papers in Kashmir are still in infancy and only occasionally does an editor write against the Government. The standard, barring a few papers is quite low both in language, material and treatment of a subject.

If a paper is sued for defamation, or spreading communal hatred or for some other reason the paper may be stopped, the 'security' amount may be forfeited or the publishers may be ordered to 'deposit' a few thousand rupees more as a security money.

Judiciary in Kashmir is independent to a large extent. There are 'judges', sub-judges, 'session judges'. High court judges' and 'chief justice'. There are 'Government prosecutors'. 'Advocates' in 'courts' and 'High courts' and 'vakils' or 'pleaders' in oher courts. Thus we find—all waves of life affected by the English life, thought and languge. It is the english

words that entered into the Kashmiri and brought about the tranformation.

Though elasticity of the language and its aptitude to imbibe the spirit and words from other more viable languages is a commendable feature of a living language, yet occasionally a language should have a reasonable check on the invading words, which if allowed to enter unchecked, distort the language completly. Kashmiri as a living language has always kept her doors open for other languages, Particularly languages of the ruling nations but the damage done has unfortunately been immense. The Kashmiri speaking people have been swept off their feet by each wave of a ruler's language. With the advent of Islam in Kashmir persian influence took such deep roots that the life and culture of people became almost a 'carbon' copy of Iran and Kashmir boasted of having become 'Iranisaghir,' a miniature Iran. Persian and Arabic words not only replaced the Kashmiri words, but brought along with them reformation of dress, habit and manners and today it is difficult to find Kashmiri equivalent to quite a number of its own words.

English language has been equally kind to Kashmiri language and as the industrial and technological age is in full swing, it is likely that in due course of time, Kashmiri language might adopt words to such an extent that researchers after a thousand years might be misled to regard English as one of the origin of Kashmiri language.

In a section of the Kashmiries living in 'Boats' or 'House boats,' a sort of a mongrel languages has been born, a hotch potch of English and Kashmiri language and it is really surprising, if this hybrid may not take permanent roots and continue to be used uninterruptedly for centuries to come.

All said and done the fact remains that the middle or the upper classes of a slave nation loose their moorings before the onslaught of the dazzling life of the rulers to an extent, from where retreat seems impossible. A member of such a society is a bird with borrowed feathers, unable to fly and incapable of maintaining its balance. For years to come he (a Kashmiri)

will not be able to adjust himsef to his surroundings. He may continue to dress himself like his old masters, live upto their standards and spoil himself. He could still learn a leason from other parts of his vast country India, where all other states progressed under the British rules but where the impact of English life and language remained restricted to learning of the language, while their life and manners have strictly remained their own.

CHAPTER 17

Gynaecology in Kashmir

Dr. Halim-un-Nisa

Human behaviour towards one's own self is surprisingly similar in the various parts of our country as also of other undeveloped parts of the world, which have been dominated by ignorance and superstititons.

In Patana, Calcutta and its suburbs where I practised as a Gynocologist for about 6 years, I found some peculiar superstitions indigenous to those parts and some others resembling the superstitions that we have in the valley itself.

Superstitions are responsible for a number of diseases and also for aggravation of small ailments, sometimes leading to death. To cite an interesting superstition attached to the pregnant women is one which in Bihari language is known as "Bhoot Deil Hai" *i.e.* the woman has been under the influence of a ghost and they think it is because of that, that she suffers from swelling of the whole body, especially the lower limbs, and fits of unconsciousness. This we locally call as "Tasruf". The remedy prescribed there, is that a number of bottles (17-21) of countrywine, is burst with a gang around the patient by 'Ojhas'—the Mantrawallas—who take position to rows on either sides of the patient's bed. They recite 'Ojha Mantra' and burn a heap of red pepper near the 'ghost ridden' pregnant woman. People believe that the ghost that has seized the lady, will run away by the noise of sudden and simultaneous breaking of the bottles of wine and burning of pepper.

Obviously if the process continues for some days, poor woman's condition gets from bad to worse. If per chance,

the patient survives, she gives birth to a macerated child. This they believe that the child is eaten up by ghost.

Similar is the superstition in our valley where, pepper Onion and garlic are burnt very often keeping the woman shut. Very often is that the unfortunate pregnant woman succumbs to this barberous treatment.

Giddiness, nausea and vomitting are the result of various physiological changes taking place in the woman's body. The foetus has to grow as a parasite on mother's blood so that usual diet she takes is shared by it, thus depleting the food and resulting in the bodily weakness of the woman leading on to giddiness and nausea. This can very well be controlled by improving the caloric value of mother's food. But instead, people suggest starving and tea without milk, because they believe that the food taken by the pregnant woman is not digested. Very often she is kept starving for days together. No doubt, some foods, such as fatty and fried foods are not easily digested in the later part of pregnancy; it is better to avoid them.

The swelling of body, vomitting, unconsciousness and a score of other symptoms of disease are the result of negligence of certain physiological changes taking place inside the body of a pregnant woman. A new life is growing inside her body freeding on her blood and connected with her life process. Morning sickness should not be taken as a disease but it is the response of a normal body to welcome the new environment. Thus it should be treated by regularising diet than by the medicines.

This needs training of the woman by giving her proper education about the process taking place inside her.

Village practitioners, quacks and untrained Dais should be banned and instead experienced hands *i.e.* trained Dais and nurses should be provided to village so as to educate the masses, serve them and lessen the chances of undermining the health of expectant mothers.

In later part of pregnancy of the cases I have seen, majority were the result of negligence in the beginning, some because of shyness, while others were due to poor antenatal advices. A woman feels shy to narrate her state to elders and thus hides many important facts which later on become a problem.

To avoid this; women must be educated so that they discuss these matters among themselves and hence face less dangers and difficulties in discharging their natural duties.

Another superstition is about 'abortion'. A woman aborting repeatedly is said to be under the influence of an evil spirit which in local language they call "Ishara" (इशारा) and the treatment for this is done by peers and pandits with the result that each time the lady conceives, she aborts. This repetition of abortion, in fact, is due to several causes.

Ignorance, negligence and superstitions also play an important part in intranatal period i.e. during labour.

One of the supersitions in the valley is that people put a dry herb known as 'Khalas Mohar' (literally meaning the Delivery Fruit) in water contained in a vessel. This they believe to give the indication about the opening of mouth of uturus. If it swells and opens out by putting in the water of some time, it is regarded as a good omen for normal delivery. otherwise they lose hope. This has a psychological effect on the expectant mother. The herb 'Khalas Mohar' is succulant and the water is absorbed leading on to the swelling of the herb. Sometimes the herb is very hard and it does nots well. So the people around the patient become very sad and leave the whole thing as such a wanting for God to help.

Similar superstiton exists in the people outside the valley. They keep the hair of the lady undressed as they believe that by opening of hair the mouth of utrns is opened, which they, in their local language call "Chauti Kole so Kothi Khullat". This is a mere superstition and can take two lives.

For this, routine antenatal care is needed in which the

doctor concerned can assess the passage and the passenger and advise accordingly.

"After births" is another important process in the course of delivery. This means the expulsion of placenta along with the membranes and cord. People adopt rough measures for the delivery of placenta e.g. they put the patients hair into her mouth or give a housefly to swallow. This causes vomiting and they think that by vomiting the placents will be expelled. This belief is almost all over the country including Kashmir.

But as a matter of fact this often endangers the life of the mother. While placenta is still intact the exertion caused by vomiting leads on to tearing of umbilical vessels resulting in haemorhage and thereby death.

Here I shall just narrate a case seen by me in a village named. Trail Nambal. I was called there to examine a patient. According to their statement "the patient was neither closing her eyes nor was she talking." The patient had actually expired before my arrival. She was a young lady of about 17 years and had given birth to female child. These hazards can be controlled by timely and proper medical care.

Puerperal sepsis is another complication which occurs as a result of infection caused by the unhygenic methods applied for delivery. This may lead to the loss of sense in the lower limbs and the lady may become crippled for life. The cause is that the untrained Dai attending the patient applies ash and soil to the perineum after delivery as an absorbent to check the bleeding. This is also applied to the baby for cleaning the "Vernix Caseosa" the white greasy material spread all over the body of the baby at the time of birth.

Here I cite another interesting but sad example. Once I happened to examine a patient who had delivered four days back in a village 'Ramahal'. According to the statement of the attendants around her, she delivered normally and was all right for three days. On fourth day she did not take anything neither did she talk. I found the patient unconscious. On

local examination I found a big perineal tear which we in medical language call—3rd degree tear. There was a good amount of ghee, ash and soil in it. This was put to plug as if it were a breach during flood on the bund of River Jhelum. The patient was lying in a dirty room on grass and ash. The baby also was cleaned with same ash and earth. The woman had developed puerpral sepsis and died subsequently. The baby also died of tetanus.

These are a few examples of my experience in Calcutta, Bihar and Kashmir.

All these problems could be tackled nicely by proper education of masses, by providing helpful hands, to the villages and by rendering adequate medical services.

These difficultles can be overcome by proper education and care throughtout i.e. during pregnancy, during labour and after delivery.

Genital prolapse i.e. protrusion of uterus and vaginal walls is the common complaint with village women.

Such unfortunate ailments which become serious, could be eliminated if the 'would be mother' were given proper antenatal care so that her bowels had remained regular throughout pregnancy and she had maintained good health.

Another cause responsible for the disease is making the lady to bear down in sitting posture and before the actual time of delivery.

This prolapse invites infection and hazards which may lead to the development of vaginal ulcer and finally cancer.

In a backward society there are two major factors that create innumerable problems for the people—lack of economic development and lack of scientific knowledge. The former is known as poverty and the latter as superstition, are really the curses of illiteracy.

In absence of proper education and scientific knowledge the exploiters of religions viz; the quacks, the half literate self-styled doctors and so called midwives known as 'Maim' Sahebs' are the messengers of impoverishment and disease.

May be, that the efforts of our politicians may be crowned with success in the days to come and the economic condition of masses may improve. But until and unless a planned scientifie drive is made, the women in the backward regions of our vast country will continue to suffer at the hands of peers, Pandits, quacks and Dais.

The very purpose of the Family Planning, i.e. a check on the uncontrollably growing population and giving each couple an easily managebale family as also helping the mother to maintain good health, is defeated and the only hope is that some day our Government, particularly the Department of Health might effectively check these exploiters and provide efficient and qualified nurses and doctors for the welfare of the would be mothers.

CHAPTER 18

Protozoan Infections in J & K State

Dr. A. A. Shaw

The epizootologic studies conducted revealed that certain protozoan disease viz Babesiosis. Theilariosis and Anaplasmosis were encountered in the Jersey cows and cross bred cattle of Govt. and some local Farms of the State.

In Kashmir Valley the outbreaks were generally encountered during the months of Summer June-August when the animals appear more susceptible compared to the seasons of Spring (March-May), and Autumn (Sept.-Nov.) while in winter (Dec.-Feb.) no such outbreaks have been detected.

In the plains of Jammu these out-breaks are detected during the months of April-July when the tick activity is maximum.

These Protozoan infections are important economic diseases of cattle of the State and have been found responsible for many lossses, production as well as death losses. In an organized Farm one cow was dead out of five Jersey cows affected with Babesiosis. The overall mortality rate among the affected cattle due to this infection in Kashmir was one cow per out break which included pure bred cattle during the year 1968-69.

The ecological studies revealed that the incidence of the disease was related to the external (seasonal) tempertures favourable for propagation of tick vectors.

Boophilus microplus is the species responsible for the transmission of the Babesiosis in Kashmir which has a temperatures climate suitable for its actvity. Likewise **B. declaratus** has also been recovered from diseased cows and are responsible for

transmission of this infection. It has been our experience that activity of this tick varies with the temperatures. In the Spring season when the atmospheric temperatures in the Valley varied from 10-17°c the activity of these ticks did not transmit the disease. However during the Summer when the tempertures generally are high 30-35°c tick is capable to transmit the infection.

Certain species of *Ixodes* and *Hyalomma* have been found responsible for the transmission of this disease in Kashmir Valley.

The avergge rainfall of 30-35 inches per annum in Kashmir is also contributory factor conducive of their activity. It has been observed that these ticks also occur at the altitudes as high as 7000 ft., singly or in associations. In Kashmir the pasture lands at the altitude of 6,500 ft. above sea level are also infected with these ticks and their activity in summer months becomes pathogenic. When the cattle move to these high altitude pastures they get invariably infected with the disease.

The eggs are hatched by these ticks in Spring season after passing hibernation periods of winter season on the cracks of the "Gujar Kothas" mostly built of mud walls and thatched roofs.

Recently an outbreak of Babesiosis has been reported among pure bred Jersey Bulls when the bull died of this infection at Animal husbandry Unit, Kangan at about 45 K.M. North west of Srinagar.

Other contributory factors in the studies of epizootology of Babesiosis have been found to be colonization of cattle, missing of the clinical cases by the veterinarians for some other disease or lack of veterinary expert dignosis at high altitudes where cattle move for grazing during summer each year.

The *Haemaphysaiis* and *Hyalomona* ticks responsible for the transmission of the Theileriosis in Kashmir are the ticks confined to high altitiudes pastures, grass and forest zones, 5000-8000 ft. above sea level. But it has been observed that

all these ticks may not be necessarily capable of transmitting infection.

In the cattle sheds the ticks remain hidden in cracks and crevices of walls of mud and wood and thatched roofs. In this way cold season in winter is passed in the cattle by itself without generally parasitising the host. At the Spring season eggs are laid considerable in number which hatch out in summer engorge larvae or nymphae molt into adults and attack fresh hosts. Even in the various altitudinal zones between latitude of 32·17° and 36·58° North and longitude 73.26° and 80.30° East in the Valley of Kashmir *Haemopysalis* and *Hyolomma* species have been found but are not necessarily acting as the vectors of the disease.

Orntihodrus Species is also suspected for the transmission of Theileriosis especially in Sheep and Goat in this Valley and even in the cold weather of winter these ticks have been found on the body of sheep and goats before they are shorne but further observations did not reveal to be in the infective stages.

It has been observed that there is no endemic zone of Theileriosis in Kashmir. This may be accounted for by the scattered habitations as also the observed fact that local cattle are resistant to this disease.

Our obesrvation on the out-break of this disease in a private Farm, Sonawara Srinagar has shown that the cross bred Jersey cows recently introduced in this Farm were involved in this infection while the local cows and their offspring did not show any disease although they were housed in the nearby shed and all the animals were managed under semi-ranch system. The mortality rate in Farm was 33% among Jersey cross or bred animals for the year 1968-69.

Theileriosis has often been found in association with Anaplasmosis. It is therefore not possible to calculate the exact impact of this disease on the livestock of Kashmir, in term of losses due to death, morbidity, decrease in milk and abortions as sequel of this infection. Assessment was made more diffcult by the

fact that clinical cases of livestock not personally observed by disease investigation staff were missed by other veterinarians when no Laboratoty facilities were available. However many such cases were examined second hand after the other veterinarians despatched the material for laboratory examination. This also revealed high incidence of sublinical cases among some cross bred progeny.

Haemophysalis Hyalomma and *Ornithodorush* have been found widespread throughout 134 × 40 K.M. of the Valley. The spread of theilariosis therefore poses a new problem in cattle disease in Kashmir, although at present only sporadic incidence has been reported.

The epizootologic studies conducted on Anaplasmosis has established clinical cases of this protozoan infection in pure bread Jersey Cattle in this State. Attempts made to locate the vectors responsible for the transmission of this disease did not definitely prove that either ticks or horse flies found in the neighbourhood of this area play any role in its spread. Further survey made showed that the disease was restricted to the Government organised Farm alone, and blood samples screened from the animals revealed only five cases were positive out of such 180 animals including cross bred and their progeny. In consideration of the fact that the disease was not found in local cattle, it was therefore realised that Anaplasmosis is not problem in Kashmir.

Anaplasmosis was detected in the above Farm after the introduction of imported Jersey cows. Observations made did not reveal any correlation between prevailing mosquito or fly population in the Farm where clinical cases of Anaplasmosis were found. Apparantly infection may have spread through instruments used for inoculations and vaccinations. The incidence of Anaplasomosis was observed only in the summer season (July) of the year 1968-69, while for winter, spring and Autumn seasons no such cases have been reported so far. The epizootologic studies on Bovine Trichomoniasis have revealed that the protozoan infection was not much prevelant in the Valley. Detailed examinations of the material from 438 animals

revealed that only two animals had this infection. While most of the localities in the Valley were found free from this infection two cases were recorded from the cows with history of pyometra, repeat breeding and abortion in interior Sumbal-Hajan about 30 K. M. North-West of Srinagar. In this area natural breeding of cows is not uncommon. Both these cases were reported by the Artifical Insemination Officer Hajan, for ascertaining the cause of infertility and abortion.

Another important prctozoan disease *trypanhsomiasis* is absent from the Kashmir Valley but its distribution is fairly well in the plain and semi-hilly terrains, of Jammu province. The epizootologic studies have revealed that this infection is frequent among equines and camels in the plain of Kathau and Jammu district. While the incidence is fairly low in the semi-hilly regions between altitude cf 2000 to 3000 feet.

Regarding the transmission studies of *trypnosomiasis* it has been our field experience that flies such as "Tabanids" and "Stomoxys" play a great role while mosquitoes may also act occasionally as mechanical carriers. Pathogenosis after attack of Trypnosomiasis in equines especially horses and mules revealed a typical course with high rise in temperature 104°F-106° urticarial eruptions, conjuctival mucous membrane with haemorrhagic patches, respirating distress and severe cases die. While in camels there was intermittant fever, oedema of different parts, with disappearance of the hump in certain chronic cases.

To our knowledge trypnosomiosis in cattle "Surra" has not been reported so far even from the plains of Jammu Province. There appears to be very low incidence of this infection in Jammu plains. However our experience has revealed that these animals by and large remain carriers without showing any clinical symptoms of this disease. Serdiagnostic tested in camels with mercuric chloride tests of Benett has been successfully used to detect cases of Sura in camels and it has been observed that the infection is fairly common in Kathua district followed by Jammu plains.

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CHAPTER 19

Composite Cultural Heritage of Kashmir

Prof. F.M. Hassnain

"While absorbing new ideas, the Kashmiris on their own part have created a mixed and composite culture, which is tolerant, humane and kind at the same time."

—*Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah*

In about 8000 B.C. the valley of Kashmir was a vast lake surrounded by the lofty mountains[1]. The *Nilamata-purana* of Nila-naga is the earliest source of information about the origin of Kashmir, its earliest inhabitants and its *tirthas*. It tells us as to how Shiva drained off the lake by striking the mountains with his *trisul*, how the Nagas succeeded in killing the Jalod, the ruler of the clan inhabiting the lake and the details about the fourteen tribes, which later on settled in the valley[2]. Kashmir then came to be known as *Satidesha*, and people by various tribes, such as, the Nagas the Pishachas, the Gandhravas, the Sakas, Tunganas, and the Yavanas[3]. The Nagas, who were of Turanian stock were the first inhabitants of the valley, were in majority and they were the first to accept the doctrines of Buddhism[5]. They were the sun and the serpent worshippers of the pre-historic times[6].

The earliest references to the valley of Kashmir are contained in the Greek classics of Ptolemy[7], Dionysios[8], Hekataios[9], and Herodotos[10]. The Chinese have also refered to Kashmir and there are clear references to the valley in the Annals of the T 'ang dynasty[11], but these pertain to the 6th century A.D. The Arabic works of Al-Masudi, Al-qazwini, *Al-Idrisi* and Al-Beruni also contain references to the valley of Kashmir and in this connection, Al-Beruni's *India* is most authentic.

Excavations conducted at Burzahom have revealed that the earliest inhabitants of the valley were cave-dewellers or pit-dewellers. It was in about 3300 B.C. that the people of Kashmir chose the various *krewas* or uplands for their residential purposes. The ancient site has yielded a large number of bone and stone tools, in the shape of harpoons, needles, arrow-heads, spear heads, axes, chisels etc[12]. Of unusual interest are the burials of human beings and animals so far located in the habitation chambers. The excavations also revealed the first ever found rock painting, depicting a hunting scence during day, illuminated by the two shining suns, which is perhaps the earliest specimen of primitive art in Kashmir[13].

During the 6th century B.C. the Achaemenian monarchy rose to power in persia, Afganistan and other regions of the northern India under the leadership of Cyrus the Great. The valley of Kashmir, which formed a part of Gandhara, came under the influence of the Bactrians, the Scythians and the Parthians. Alexander the Great marched his armies into India in the beginning of 326 B.C. After his departure, many small Greek chiefships arose in the north western regions of India and Demetrious became the ruler of a big kingdom, which included Kashmir also[14].

Among the Greek rulers, whose coins have been located in the valley are Euthydemos I Apollodotos, Menandrou, Antimachos Nikephoros, Hippostratos, Azez, Azilises, Vonones, Spalagadames, Spalirises, and Maues[15]. It was Menandrou, who after having been defeated by Naga-sena in a religious discussion, became a Buddhist[16]. It was during the Greek period that the cultural traditions in Rome, Byzantium, Syria and Persia travelled to the valley and its influence can be traced in the archaeological style of the sun temple of Martanda[17]. Similar foreign influences can be traced in the constructional style of Takhat-i-Sulaiman, and the Buddhist terra-cottas of Harwan, Ushkar and Akhnur.

The Yu-echi tribes of the Kansu region in China occupied Gandara in about 177 B.C. and they are known as the Kushanas[18]. Kalhana in his *Rajatarangini* provides historical

evidence about the three Kushana rulers, Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka, who ruled over Kashmir in about the first century, A.D. and founded many towns, viharas and Buddhist stupas in the valley[19].

During the powerful reigns of the Kushana kings, the people of the valley adopted Buddhism as their religion[20]. It was during the reign of Kanishka that the 4th Buddhist Council was held in Kashmir[21]. The final decisions of the Council were engraved on copper plates and deposited in a stupa in the valley[22]. Hence-forth, the valley became the fountain-head of the *Mahayana* Buddhism, which was popularised by the Kasmiris in Central Asia, Tibet, China and South-East Asia. Vairochana was the first Kashmirian missionary, who built the first Buddhist vihar at Khotan in the Central Asian region[23]. Most famous among the Kashmirian monks, who introduced Buddhism in China, are Kumarajiva, Buddhayasas, Sanghabhuti, Vimalaksha and Gunavarmana[24]. The latter is renowned for his missionary activities in Java, Sumatra, Bali, Borneo and other islands in the South-east Asia[25]. It was in the 7th century that Buddhism lost its popularity in the valley and Hinduism asserted its dominant position due to the patronage extended to it by the Kings of Kashmir. It was Nara, who started the process which eventually resulted in the extinction of Buddhism from Kashmir[26].

During the period of the Karkotas, Kashmir developed a humanistic philosophy of its own, known as the Kashmir *Shaivism*. The *Agamas*, which gives a description of dialogues between Shiva and Parvati, were compiled with suitable interpretations by Somananda in the 8th century. Utpaladeva and Abhinavagupta further developed them with detailed commentaries like the *Ishvara Praysbhijna* and the famed *Tantraloka*. The Kashmirian scholars worked out a monistic philosophy which is quite distinct from the *Advaita* Vedanta. They taught that phenomenal existence, though transitory in nature was not unreal and manifested in its phenomenal aspect. It continues to be what it has been eternally, the limitless, all inclusive; blissful and external consciousness[27].

The Kashmiris excelled in architecture during the period ending the 12th century A.D. The Archaeological remains at Awantipur, Martand, Taper, Mattan and Parihaspur are the most remarkable existing monuments in India[28]. The Kashmiris re-arranged the motifs they had ready at hand into a new artistic combination which was so beautiful and at the same time so dignified that it fixed for all succeeding centuries the ideal of what a temple for the God should be[29]. This splendid architecture of Kashmir is our most treasured heritage.

The Kashmiris contributed voluminously to the Sanskrit literature in India. Not only in the field of poetics where the Kashmirian scholars have excelled all others, their contributions in the field of philosophical and historical literature are superb and notable[30]. Out of all the regions in the country, Kashmir excells in producing continuous series of historical records from ancient times to the present century. In the field of historiography, the names of Ratnakara, Ralhana, Suka, Srivara, Jonaraja, Mulla Ahmed, Mulla Nadri, Mahamad Mehdi, Haider Malik. Mohsin Fani. Narayan Koul, Mohamad Azam, Birbal Kachru, Hassan Shah will be remembered always.

Islam made its headway into Kashmir through the efforts of the Muslim travellers, soldiers, scholars and saints, who visited the valley in the 8th century A.D. It was Brahmaraja, who invited the seven Muslim princes for an invasion of Kashmir[31]. Harsha appointed Muslims in his army and they enjoyed great influence on him. There are many indications in the Rajatarangini of Kalhana, which show Harsha's leanings towards Islam[32]. But it goes to the credit of Gyalpo Rinchina, the last Buddhist ruler of Kashmir, to have brought Islam to the masses by his voluntary conversion at the hands of a *fakir*, whose tomb at Bulbul Lankar has become our national heritage. It was Islam, which completed the process of the blending of cultures in the valley.

The period of the Sultanate, from the begining of the fourteen century to the end of the 16th century is a golden

period of national glory in the history of Kashmir. It was a period when the valley of Kashmir had its own rulers. During Sultan Shihab-ud-din's reign, the Kashmiris extended the boundaries of India right upto Gazni, Qandhar, and Badakshan[33]. Sultan Zain-ul-abidin (1420-1470) was undoubtedly the greatest ruler in the history of Kashmir for having ushered benevolent rule for the people. Due to our love and affection for him, we still call him—Badshah or the great king. He was honoured with the appelation of *Narayanavtara* by the Kashmiris[34]. During the Sultanate, the Kashmiris evolved a new humanistic philosophy known as the *Rishi* Order, founded by the great patron saint of Kashmir, Hazrat Shaikh Noor-ud-din Wali[35]. These *Sufis* played an important role as preachers of love, justice, social reform and Islam. These *Rishis*, who belonged to various faiths, were the harbingers of secularism, world brotherhood and peace and it is due to them that the Kashmiris have remained tolerant in their outlook and behaviour throughout the centuries.

The Sultans of Kashmir were great builders but with the passage of time, nothing remains of their works except the tomb of Snltan Zain-ul-Abidin's mother, the tomb of Sayed Mohamad Madni and the *Khanqah* of Shah Hamdan. They gave to the world, what is known as the wooden architecture of Kashmir. which has a distinct style of its own[36].

It was during the period of the Sultans, that arts and crafts for which the valley has attained world fame, were introduced. The weaving of the shawls, the wood work and the papier-machi were brought to Kashmir from the Central Asian region. Some of the Sultans like Badshah, Hassan Shah and Yousaf Shah were great patrons of music and now, the *santoor* and *sofiyana* and the *rouf* has become synonymous with Kashmir.

The Mughals, though conquerors of Kashmir, added to our cultural heritage in the shape of various Mughal gardens around the Dal Lake and at various places in the valley. It was due to the Mughals that the ancient glory of Kashmir, as the paradise on earth, was restored[37]. They were the great

patrons of learning and it was during their period that *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, an authoritative work on comparative religions was compiled by Mulla Mohsin Fani. The greatest of the Persian poets of Kashmir, Mulla Tahir Ghani composed his world famous *Divan* in the middle of the 17th century.

It was due to the progressive and secular thinking of the Kashmiris that they joined the freedom struggle without any distinction of caste, creed and colour. Since pre-historic times, Kashmir has been a meeting ground of many a varied and rich cultures. While absorbing new ideas, the Kashmiris on their own part have created a mixed and composite culture which is tolerant, humane and kind at the same time. Such a happy blending of cultures is peculiar to the valley only and has influenced them upto the present times in their outlook on every day affairs and problems[38]. Our composite culture which is Buddhist, Shaivist and Islamic at the same time is the hall-mark of the Kashmiris and we are proud of it.

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APPENDIX

The Kashmir Council of Research wish to underline the importance of the rich and great cultural heritage enshrined in the vast source materials available in Kashmir for purposes of research and learning.

The Council is of a firm opinion that three decades having elapsed since independence, time has come when vigorous and concerted efforts should be undertaken now to delve deep into the treasures of art and culture of our State.

Patronage of State Government :

The Council would therefore like to impress upon the State Government the necessity of provision of financial support, rewards and pensions to persons engaged in historical research, cultural activity, literary work and scientific exploration. Such financial support and rewards were forthcoming from Imperial Treasuries under royal patronage in pre-Independence period. Now that popular regimes have emerged in post-Independence era it is in the fitness of things that such patronage should be forth-coming from the popular Governments.

Allocation of Funds :

The Council appeals to the State Government to allocate specific funds for scientific research, cultural and historical studies and research without further loss of time, as we have to make up for a serious time-lag of about 30 years in this important field of development in art, history, culture and literature. Such a gesture on the part of the Government would be viewed by the Council with profound gratitude ;

loyalty to the cause of honest endeavours to dig into our past culture and heritage with a view to help build a bright, prosperous future ; towards which we can look forward with a sense of pride and honour, should be our aim.

Microfilming of Manuscripts :

The Council brings it to the notice of the Government that a vast store of old and rare manuscripts are scattered all over the State in custody of Government, educational and other institutions as well as private individuals. These manuscripts constitute our precious heritage and national treasure, which require to be preserved on scientific lines. It is sad that uptill now, no arrangements have been made for their microfilming and proper preservation. It may be recalled that it was in 1949 that Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, then Prime Minister of the State purchased a microfilming camera from France. Since then many Education Ministers have come and gone but no one has cared to get these manuscripts either microfilmed or photostated. The Council demands of the Ministry of Education to make necessary arrangements of staff and apparatus for the purchase and have the necessary microfilming etc. done promptly.

Return of manuscripts by National Archives, New Delhi

The Council notes with concern that our pecious heritage in the shape of manuscripts in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian and especially the world famous Gilgit manuscripts were sent to the National Archives, New Delhi, for repair and binding at time of tribal raids, but these have not been returned so far. The Council demands that these manuscripts be got back and work re-started on the editing of the Gilgit manuscripts.

Department of Buddhism ;

It is reiterated that as the Mahayana Buddhism originated from Greater Kashmir, there is need to start a research wing on Kashmir Buddhism at the University of Kashmir.

Return of antiquities by the Archaeological Survey of India :

The Council understands that as per agreements entered by the State Government with the Government of India, the Archaeological Survey of India had to build an anthropological Museum at Burzehom, which has not been done by them so far. All antiquities, which have been unearthed by the Archaeological Survey of India during the last 30 years have been taken away by them out of the State. The Council demands that the Archaeological Survey of India be requested to establish the promised Museum at Burzehom and return all the antiquities etc unearthed during the last 30 years to our State Museums at Jammu, Srinagar and Delhi.

Encyclopaeodia Kashmiriana :

The Council records its appreciation of Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Art Language and Culture in having started the project of Encyclopaeodia Kashmiriana. The Academy, it is hoped, will enlist the co-operation of the council in the compilation of this stupendous work, to make it of such high standard and quality that it would be sought after by scholars cf Kashmiriology all over the world.

World Kashmir Conference :

The Council is of opinion that in order to unravel and revitalise cur culture, a grand conference be organised in Kashmir every year to which eminent personalities in different fields of Art, Culture and Science pertaining to Kashmir are invited from different parts of the world. It would be in the fitness of things that such a conference is held under non-official auspices. Such a Conference would more appropriately be part of the work KCR and to make a beginning in this behalf and to hold first such conference next Autumn, the State Government are requested to make a grant of Rs. 50,000/-.

Establishment of Department of Sanskrit :

It is well known that Kashmir formed an important seat of

Sanskrit learning between 7th and 14th century A.D. contribution made by Kashmiries to Sanskrit have attained world fame. It is regretted that uptil now, no Department of Sanaskrit has been established at the University of Kashmir. The Council demands of the University of Kashmir to establish the Sanskrit Department as early as possible.

Establishment of Department of Arabic :

It is well known that since 13th Century that Kashmiries have contributed a lot to the Arabic literature and such manuscripts are preserved in Archives, Research, and other educational institutions as well as in private hands It is also a fact that Arabic has attained much importance with the emergence of oil producing West Asian States. As such, it is necessary to establish Arabic Departments in the University of Kashmir. The Council demands that the University of Kashmir take immediate steps to establish such a Department.

Building of City Centre and City Hall :

It is regretted that the municipal Council, Srinagar has not yet built up a city Hall and a Centre in Srinagar, The council demands from the Municipal Council that it takes early steps to build such a City Centre and Hall, with necessary facilities and amenities.

Pension to Scholars :

The Council and its members are committed to channlize their efforts and to devote their time to research and Literary work. The Council is ready to help and assist the ministry of Education of the State Government and the Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Art Culture and Languages in framing a detailed scheme for grant of financial assistance and pension to prominent researchers engaged in research and study, in various fields of specialisation. The Council also suggests that research awards and Research Scholarships be instituted by the State Government on regular basis.

Grants to Research Organisations :

The Council urges upon the State Government to initiate action for grant of aid and financial support to various Research Institution and Research Centres in the State. In this connec tion mention may be made of Shri Parmanand Research Institute, Sharda Peetha Research Centre, Research Centre of Hanfia Arabic College, Jamia Madiuatul Aloom etc.

Centre of Central Asian Studies :

The Council notes with appreciation the establishment of the Centre for Central Asian Studies at the University of Kashmir. The Council would like to extend its full fledged co-operation and support to this Centre in the exploration of past history and culture of Kashmir, its impact and influences on the neighbouring areas and vice-versa. The Council however, feels that all such research work, projects and council of library studies should be got done through local authors and research scholars who should have a controlling hand in such projects and studies. The Council demands that a Board of Local Scholars be constituted to formulate policies and give direction for carrying on various projects in the Centre of central Asian Studies.

Need for Field Scientific Research :

Department of Botany, Chemistry, zoology of the University of Kashmir be prevailed upon to undertake field Scientific Research in flora, fauna, mine, minerals. forest wealth, medical plants and herbs and natural resources, Solar energy, hydraulics etc. with a view to improve our style of life within the resources.

Freedom Fighter's Memorial Hall :

The Council demands of the State Government to approve construction of fire-proof building for housing vestiges of our historic past, photographs of our martyrs and freedom fighters, all material available about them in manuscripts, from our

printed tape-recordings, etc, for use research by posterity. For this purpose, land as well as funds for construction, be made available for building of a Memorial Hall. The Council also requests the State Government to have the precious records available in the Reference and Research Library of the Department of Information, Jammu and Kashmir Government, Srinagar fully utilized by research Scholars for buillding an authentic history of freedom movement in Kashmir and the events in the State which followed the partition in 1947.

Editing Publication of Manuscripts :

The Department of Archives may, in collaboration with the Cultural Academy, make necessary arrangements of alloting scholars projects for editing, annotation, compilation, translation of treasure of literature in the State Archives at Jammu, Srinagar and Leh in Persian, Sanskrit and Ladakhi. The State Cultural Academy may also take immediate steps to publish the manusripts of Kashmir including Thufatual-Abhar and Baharistan-i-Shahi which are lying in Archives Library.

Research material with Radio Kashmir, Leh, Jammu and Srinagar :

Union Ministry of Information and Broadcasting of the Govt. of India be requested with an appropriate recommendation from the State Government to place at the disposal of Kashmir Council of Research copies of texts- transcripts and the tape recorded version of talks, panel discussions and features etc. on art and culture of Kashmir, broadcast from Srinagar. Ladakh and Jammu Stations of Radio Kashmir, for purposes of printing the same in original or in translations for the benefit of the reading public.

Grant-in-aid to Lalded Nundreshi Research Centre :

The State Government, Ministry of Education, may agree to approach the National Commission for Co-operation with UNESCO to take up following major research projects in colla boration with Kashmir Council of Research, Archaeological

Survey of India (North west Circle) and other interested International Agencies :—

a. Magalithic and Neo-lithic period find and excavation at Burzanhom and Hoinar (Pahalgam and similar other excavations) of later periods.

b. Conducting search of hidden treasure of copper plates containing records of 4th Buddhist Council in Kashmir.

Institution of Chair in Ladakhi :

The University of Kashmir may agree to institute a Chair for Research in Ladakhi art and culture and literature with necessary financial assistance from U.G.C.

Task Force For Implementation of Policy Resolution :

The Council recommends that a Task Force for implementation of this Policy Resolution on research and cultural heritage, be constructed under the chairmanship of the Chief Minister in which the Kashmir Council of Research should be suitably represented.

In pursuance of the above, the Council requests its patron (Chief Minister J. & K.) to use his good offices with the Ministry of Education, Government of India, Department of the State Government and the University of Kashmir, Muncipal Council and Cultural Academy for considering the suggestions set forth above.

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